THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Queen And I

Malcolm Muggeridge

May 22, 1961, 25 ce

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Foot-Dragging

★ We get awfully sick of this "moderation." All during the Eisenhower Administration there was moderation. And again all during the Johnson-Rayburn control of the 86th ("Liberal") Congress. And now instead of Kennedy urgency there is some more moderation.

Moderation may ruin us. The simple fact is America's house is not in order and we doubt whether improvement that is only moderate will mend it. It was refreshing to hear British publisher Cecil Harmsworth King lecture the Press Club here last week. Russia is bloody-handed, the crusty publisher observed, but at least it is *contemporary;* the United States is living back in the last century. Take, for example, he continued, the proposal to give modest sickness insurance to American old people. Why, said King (whose papers sell 50 million copies a week), it was Count Bismarck who instituted old age health insurance way back in the middle of the last century and it was then taken up by "that well-known creeping socialist, Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria."

It sounded funny as King said it but it was humor with a bite to it; how in the world can laggard, foot-dragging America survive in a world where our conservatism is such a sitting duck for Communist propaganda? People hoped progress would be faster after the 1958 Democratic victory. But the liberals sat on their hands, waiting for Lyndon Johnson to lead. He didn't. The watchword was "moderation." There was practically no debate; Lyndon didn't believe in public controversy.

True, the national mood was complacent, but there were few, if any, hellraisers in Congress to try to buck it. Foreign policies got no going over (criticism was in bad taste); the Rules Committee was not curbed; Eisenhower's jack-o-lantern inflation bogey went unchallenged till it scared the country into another recession; when Rep. James Roosevelt called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee not a single Congressman joined him. Moderation ruled.

We don't like the moderation of Kennedy much, either. He would be in a better position to attack, of course, if the 86th Congress had prepared the way for him or if he had got a bigger majority in 1960. So far as it goes most of the Kennedy domestic program is all right. But does it go far enough – particularly on the economic side? We are bouncing back from the final Eisenhower recession but we see no clear evidence that the Kennedy program is going to get at the heart of our trouble, slow economic growth expressed in five million unemployed. The bills to stimulate growth are all of the "moderate" variety. We hope they will do the trick but it is a far cry from Kennedy's campaign urgency.

An alternative economic program is published this week by Leon Keyserling's Conference on Economic Progress, "Jobs & Growth," a stimulating 90-page pamphlet, 50 cents, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C.

The Most Useful Senator

★ Things weren't always like this. Remember George W. Norris and Fiorello LaGuardia? They weren't moderates, they were hellraisers. We are celebrating the Norris centenary here this week. It's queer how all those orthodox Senators diminish as time passes, how Norris rises and rises! Roscoe Fleming says he was "the most useful Senator of the century." I think that is so. He and LaGuardia got through the labor act that ended the injunctions to enforce yellow-dog contracts, he helped put an end to the lame-duck Congress, he got the one-house legislature adopted in Nebraska, he did more than any other Congressman to put through the Rural Electrification Administration, and he created TVA (which a recent President called "creeping socialism").

I remember campaigning one time with FDR when Norris joined the party. Maybe it was McCook, Nebraska, it was on the limitless prairie and a perfectly tremendous sunset was going on with stained-glass window effects throbbing in the sky till the whole world seemed like one great cathedral with God looking down. FDR rose to an occasion like that. FDR's character was like an onion that you could peel down layer after layer and never know if you had got to the essential man, but the artist in him rose to a great moment like this and the decency in him responded to a man like Norris. Nobody present will ever forget the scene. FDR spoke in a kind of hushed awe as Norris, the simplest and most unpretentious of all Senators, stood against the beauty of a sunset that made your heart ache. Norris was, said FDR, "the very perfect, gentle knight" of American liberalism.

Kennedy goes up to Canada briefly this week. Here again we are constantly surprised at the way citizens of the United States can live side by side without knowing a neighbor whose national religion is *not* "free enterprise"; whose social legislation goes far beyond ours, whose government accepts as normal responsibility ownership and operation of railroads, shipping, airlines, broadcasting and the like, and whose great provincially owned Hydro systems of public power started in 1910 inspired Norris with the idea of TVA – a generation later. Just how long can we afford to be a generation – or half a century – late?

Notes

★ A GOP do-nothing conservative, John Tower, and a racist Democratic reactionary, Sen. William Blakley, have a Senate runoff election in Texas, May 27. In this exciting race of tortoises multi-millionaire Blakley is the favorite, we are for Tower. . . . The witch-hunters are riding again: Eastland's Internal Security Committee (Senate) demands the names of all members of the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee"; Walter (House) wants to establish a Comptroller of Foreign Propaganda to censor foreign mail for fortress America.

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Commitment in Saigon

Looking back on the success stories of guerrilla warfare – from the wartime *maquis* to the Haganah in Palestine and now Castro, the FLN and the Viet Cong – Colonel George M. Jones, Commandant of the US Army Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, offers some almost unbelievable statistical generalizations concerning the high cost of effective anti-guerrilla operations. "The record shows that one guerrilla has effectively tied down or dissipated the usefulness of 10 conventional soldiers," writes Colonel Jones in *The Special Warfare Newsletter*. "He has killed 15 conventional soldiers in exchange for every guerrilla fatality. And he has expended only 20 percent of the ammunition required to effect a casualty as compared to the conventional soldiers' expenditure. How has the guerrilla managed to do this? The answer in great part lies in motivation, training and courage."

Thus, although the Pathet Lao numbers a mere 8,000 men, some 80,000 Royal Laotian troops would have been needed to attain what the military men call the requisite "tie-down" ratio (as against an effective force totalling at most 15,000, out of a nominal 29,000 maintained by the US over a five-year period at a cost of $300 million). On the other hand, the South Viet Nam Army will total an estimated 170,000 men after the 20,000-man increase made possible by the step-up in US aid last week (as against Viet Cong guerrilla cadres variously estimated at 7,000 to 15,000 strong). It might seem that the Diem regime has at least a mathematical chance to hold out indefinitely. Or in time, to break up the cadres and cut off the flow of arms over the peasants' underground railroad. Yet even if one were to assume that the Ngo Dinh Diem order can be induced to inflict on itself convulsive political, social and economic reforms, and thus to impart that missing sense of popular "motivation," the stabilization of a permanently divided Viet Nam presupposes a US commitment of a size the Administration has not begun to sketch out for the American people.

The decision on May 14 to send in nearly 100 of the specialists in irregular warfare who have been trained at Fort Bragg may prove a most fateful one. For if these Americans are ever under fire, they will presumably have the freedom to shoot back; and once there are even a few well-publicized casualties, the prestige of the US will have been for all practical purposes committed irrevocably to the Diem cause. The choice will then be humiliating withdrawal as the size of the challenge grows clear or progressively deeper involvement in a stalemate which may not admit of a conclusive "victory" in anything

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less than a decade – some experts say even longer.

Militarily, a well-trained guerrilla force can dig in quite literally for decades, so long as it enjoys what Bernard B. Fall has called (in his definitive military history of the Indochina conflict, *Street Without Joy*) an "active sanctuary." The Greek insurgents lost out in 1947 when Tito closed off his border following the break with Stalin; Huk supply lines could be cut off by a naval blockade, and the British similarly had the Cypriotes isolated on their island. But Viet Nam's borders are wide open to sanctuaries which cannot be sealed off, not only the border with North Viet Nam but also the unpoliced Laos and Cambodia frontiers.

It took 12 years to win the guerrilla struggle in Malaya – sea-locked on three sides and separated from direct contact with China – and there are still 800 holdouts in the jungle. And there were distinguishing features which made Malaya notably more manageable than Viet Nam. First of all, Malaya has less than half the population in about the same area, with the Communists drawn almost wholly from the Chinese minority of 2.5 million.

A more fundamental difference is that Malaya (especially for the Chinese) did not offer an agrarian theater of hostilities. The Chinese in Malaya were primarily employed on the rubber plantations and in the tin mines. The "squatters" who had turned to agriculture to supplement their income and who proved the most available collaborators for the Communists did not have a way of life that held them by sentiment and mystique to a particular place. Thus when the British introduced the New Villages program under which the squatters were brought together in new communities which could be isolated from the terrorists, there was some complaining but not the extreme reaction of people who were having their basic way of life altered. Through this program the British were able to impose strict food control throughout the country and thus starve out the Communists in their jungle camps.

By contrast, the Vietnamese peasant is closely tied to the land and has deeply resented the effort to move him to more secure concentrations. The Vietnamese counterpart of the New Villages – the so-called Agrovilles – has run into very stiff opposition. Many a Viet Nam peasant has felt that he was being forced into a concentration camp, that he might be losing his land.

In Malaya the government was able to rely upon a specialized, uniquely-trained police force and a well-developed civil administration, so that the reach of government extended into nearly every community. Colonial Malaya could call upon not only the military resources of the British Raj but also the administrative talents of a system long concerned with problems of law and order. In Viet Nam, on the other hand, the central problem has been that of merely establishing the presence of civil authority throughout the countryside. Starting with a severe shortage of administrators after independence, Diem's civil servants have been undergoing assassination since last fall at a rate outdistancing the regime's ability to train new ones.

In Malaya the government employed some 40,000 troops, including 10,500 Gurkhas, and over 100,000 police and special constables. In Viet Nam the government will have its force of 170,000 men but this is an Army which was being trained until a short six months ago primarily for conventional and not guerrilla war.

Guerrilla warfare, one hardly needs to emphasize, is not in the last analysis a military affair at all: a guerrilla without an ideology, it has been said, is either a commando raider or a bandit. Mao Tse-tung's 1936 phrase, "revolutionary warfare," may more accurately characterize the offensive being waged by the Viet Cong against Ngo Dinh Diem. The Viet Cong, it should be noted, is not by any means the alien force intruding from North Viet Nam of which one often reads. Informed estimates suggest that at least two-thirds of the guerrillas are native to the localities in which they are operating – recruited from among the 100,000 South Viet Nam residents who migrated north after the partition of 1954.

Much is said about the terrorist tactics of the Viet Cong, as if the use of terror by one side means that anti-guerrilla forces need only to practice still greater terror. But the peculiar power of effective guerrillas lies in their coupling of brute force, on the one hand, with the still more important intangibles of political motivation and the ability to establish popular rapport.

Here one must bear in mind that the breakup of traditional social systems can lead the most peaceable people to condone violence with extraordinary casualness. To some degree *dacoities* (gang robbery) and murder were on a steady rise throughout most of Southeast Asia during the last years of colonial rule; but with new governments, new expectations and new experience with warfare and military occupation, the rate of such crime has leaped ahead of the population growth curve. In Laos, Burma, South Viet Nam and parts of Java, peasants have found that they can make more money simply by holding up a traveling Chinese merchant than by three or four years of honest – and arduous – toil. Moreover, the temper of the times being what it is in the region, there has been an easy marriage between violence and politics. Almost every self-respecting gang of bandits in the region has found it useful to cloak its activities with some form of political trimming or other; conversely, most dissident political movements have turned readily to violence. In this situation the Communists have not had to overcome strong inhibitions nor widespread public resistance in utilizing violent means.

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Almost by definition, as governments presiding over unsteady transitional societies, Southeast Asian governments are incapable of efficient and complex programs of administration. And these are precisely the kinds of programs necessary for social and economic reform. It is also true that fundamental reform takes a long time and that the political consequences of change are not, therefore, quickly felt. But if actual reform is one thing, the *posture* of a government toward radical reform is another. Magsaysay in the Philippines won millions to his side not by producing results – these are only now beginning to be felt, long after the Huks were defeated – but by his dynamic promises of concern for their future. For a considerable time span, expectations of progress may be enough, and it is these that Diem has failed to arouse.

Though the present atmosphere of demoralization may lift momentarily in the wake of the Johnson visit, the stabilization of a non-Communist South Viet Nam depends, in the long run, on a rebirth of popular confidence in the Saigon regime. This quite obviously demands first, certain symbolic gestures indicative of a new departure: the removal of one Diem brother as grand vizier and of another as warlord of central Viet Nam, and of his sister-in-law as the palace agent in the National Assembly. Beyond this, however, the Diem regime should in our view reach out broadly to involve disaffected educated and middle-class groups – especially leaders of those groups who are native to South as against North Viet Nam – and should even embrace some of the anti-Diem nationalists now in prison.

The fact that Diem is a Catholic is only a minor irritant (there are 1.4 million Catholics as against 12.1 million Buddhists, Taoists and Animists) in a society notable for its religious toleration. But the fact that power is more or less monopolized by an elite of refugees from the North who happen also to be Catholics does serve as a major abrasive element weakening the regime. As for Diem's much-vaunted incorruptibility, this counts for little, politically speaking, because he seems incapable of the common touch. He rules with mandarin disdain for public opinion; he exhorts and preaches but practices little of the Magsaysay brand of promising.

Clearly, one must place in perspective the quite limited importance of the role that US guerrilla experts can play in Viet Nam, or for that matter as outsiders in any embattled country. Theirs is the classic military role of *korsettstangen*, or "corset stays" – the phrase used by German officers in World War II to describe the Wehrmacht cadres who were attached to Italian and Romanian troops serving under the Nazi banner. It can be a potentially valuable role in tightening up the Diem anti-guerrilla operations – but no substitute for fighting spirit and the will to win.

"Sold"

Lifting the Minimum Wage

For the first time in the 23-year existence of the Fair Labor Standards Act, Congress has approved streamlining legislation which will broaden minimum wage and overtime protection (to some 3.6 million additional workers) and gradually extend the minimum wage level to $1.25 per hour. But the President won his victory at great cost. Literally millions of impoverished workers had to be left out. The $1.25 minimum and the 40-hour work week will not be attained, even by the newly-covered, until September, 1965. And some luckless cotton gin and holly wreath workers were actually removed from coverage and left to their employers' mercy after nearly 23 years of protection.

It took all of FDR's political genius to pass the watered-down Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The law as first passed provided a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour, a two-year schedule for lowering the work week to 40 hours, and a ban on child labor. But it specifically exempted literally millions of workers – many of them among the lowest paid – and some of those included were completely or partially exempted from overtime protection. In the ensuing years the minimum wage has often been increased, but rarely enough to keep it on a ratio comparable with the aver-

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age national wage as of 1938. Each minimum wage increase before this year failed to carry with it the addition of a meaningful number of workers covered and many actually resulted, as in the current case, in the exclusion of some already-covered workers.

The political muteness of the workers who will be most benefited is a liability to the pro-minimum wage lobby. Obviously those employed at 65 or 75 cents an hour are not raging letter writers who send countless missives to Congressmen, newspapers or anyone else. Their opponents, on the other hand, are in the thick of political battle.

After clearance with amendments by the House Labor Committee, the Administration-backed minimum wage reform bill this year would have provided $1.15 an hour four months after enactment for already-covered workers and $1.25 two years later. Some 4.3 million additional workers, mostly in retail and service enterprises having more than $1 million gross annual sales a year, were to be brought under the protection of the Act. They were to reach the $1.25 and the 40-hour week in annual stages over a little more than a three-year period. But by the time the measure had gone through weeks of legislative horse trading and emerged from the Senate-House conference, 140,000 laundry workers had been dropped from coverage, to cite one of the more spectacular cases of injustice, and another year was added to the time it would take newly covered workers to reach the $1.25 minimum wage and the 40-hour week. Nevertheless, the conference agreement was galling to the GOP-Southern coalition; though the bill was less than the White House had asked, it was much more than the Kitchin-Ayres bill approved by the House and even more than the defeated Albert bill on which the House leadership had taken its stand.

The conference report passed the Senate easily. But in the House of Representatives GOP Leader Charles Halleck (R, Ind.) sought unsuccessfully to defeat the bill. Significantly, Republican as well as Democratic ranks split sharply in the 250-196 vote. In 1960 alone, the measure means pay increases for 2.6 million workers – an average of $180 to the already-covered and $300 to the new.

Approaches to Civil Rights

Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York and Sen. Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania last week introduced six new civil rights bills. Whereupon the White House promptly made explicit what has long been apparent, namely, that the President "does not think it is necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation." A few days earlier, perhaps by way of prophylaxis, the Attorney General went down to Georgia and, using very unminced words indeed, made clear what the Administration *does* think it is necessary at this time to do. How do the two quite different programs compare?

One Celler-Clark bill would shift a good part of the burden of administering school integration from the courts to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. As a general proposition, this is not only desirable; it is the unavoidable way of the future. But it ought to be tied in to the disbursement of federal funds, and the emphasis ought to be on assistance extended to local authorities, not – as it seems to be in the Celler-Clark bill – on compulsion. What is more important, as this journal pointed out some time ago, a substantial start toward using the HEW Office of Education to help administer school integration can be made on the President's own authority. The experience that could be gained in this fashion would conduce eventually to wiser and more easily obtainable legislation.

This is the most deep-cutting of the Celler-Clark bills, and it is in our judgment the only one for which a claim of urgency can be put forward. The essence of the Attorney General's program is a pledge of the enforcement of existing law, by which is meant the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 (which are concerned primarily with voting) and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as construed by the Supreme Court. Mr. Kennedy has given every indication that this is a pledge to be taken seriously. He has put a first-rate man, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, at the head of his Department's Civil Rights Division. Carrying this big stick, he has actively engaged in private soft-speaking to Southern officials. He is litigating vigorously in Louisiana, and he has intervened imaginatively in the stagnating Prince Edward County case in Virginia.

Existing law has never had the benefit of vigorous and imaginative enforcement. Executive power has scarcely been used, let alone stretched, in respect of schools, government contracts, or voting rights. All Mr. Eisenhower ever did was to send troops in order to prevent a break-down from turning into disaster. Under those circumstances, the only possible course of action open to civil rights advocates, in addition, of course, to litigation, was to keep up the pressure in Congress. The yield has not been high, and it has had its cost. Is it not time to give Executive action a chance, at least for a season?

COMING

Kennedy and De Gaulle

by Jean Daniel

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The Teacher Shortage

Nobody who goes to visit a school these days is likely to entertain serious doubts that, despite steady improvement over the last five years, classes are still too large. Teachers meeting five classes a day, with 30 or 35 students in each, cannot hope to do justice to any but the most rudimentary problems of their pupils. How, for example, can teachers read 160 English themes a week and give them the careful criticism they must have if the students are to take them seriously? The teachers can't, and the students don't.

Many critics explain this shortage by comparing the low salaries paid to teachers to those paid in other professions requiring four or five years of higher education, or in business. Some say that young people have an unfavorable image of the teacher, that his or her work has little social status, and that people naturally shun a profession which is used as a scapegoat for community troubles. Yet the fact is that of all the students now in college (a third of their age group) nearly half plan to become teachers "if nothing better comes along." The trouble, then, is not that the young lack interest in teaching. A third of our college graduates actually obtain teaching certificates. Still, only a quarter are offered jobs they are willing to take; of these, half quit within five years. Furthermore, contrary to popular belief, this wastage is not simply a matter of young women putting family before job. Only the minority of women with upper-middle class husbands can afford to quit work; for most, pregnancy is only a temporary interruption, and once the children are packed off to kindergarten, mother also goes back to school. Permanent losses are found mostly among men and women who leave the schools for a more generous, or perhaps a more congenial, employer. Despite the growing attractions for some women of secretarial work (equally good pay and no homework to mark at night), the most serious competition is for men. Not only do they migrate to business in large numbers, but psychologists have found that the migrants are, on the average, more gifted than those who stay behind. Whether the certified teacher who takes a business job directly after graduation is also brighter than his three certified classmates who enter the schools, is unknown.

It is natural to assume that such departures can be explained economically. Young men are often idealistic when they graduate from college, and perhaps naïve. They sentimentalize about the rewards of "working with people," and pass over the fact that their leisure life will be constricted by salaries 20 percent lower than those paid their business-bound classmates. After a few years of the daily classroom grind, however, "working with people" often seems less idyllic, and there is a baby sleeping in the hall of the old bachelor flat. Dreaming of a front lawn, and work-free weekends on which to mow it, the school teacher is likely to switch to a more affluent bureaucracy.

But this cannot be the whole explanation. The attrition rate for all 50 states is 8.5 percent, and yet six states employing a quarter of the teachers have a turnover below 6 percent. The salary contrast between the 6 retentive and the 44 unretentive employers is less than 5 percent, and when corrected for the cost of living, even this differential evaporates.

But if improved salaries won't make men stay behind classroom desks, what will? Not, apparently, reduced teaching loads, for the staffing ratios in the six most successful states are 5 to 10 percent worse than elsewhere. Neither, apparently, shiny new classrooms, for these 6 states spend no more than others on school construction. Their only distinguishing characteristic seems to be extremely large school systems, both at the state and the local level (North Dakota is the exception). But although these large districts do not provide their teachers with more take-home pay, they do spend 10 to 16 percent more per student than other school systems, and this money goes primarily for ancillary personnel such as coaches, psychologists and librarians. No doubt such expenditures annoy many teachers, who would rather see the money in their own bank accounts. But evidently they improve general morale as compared to states which ask classroom teachers to do every sort of school work.

Whatever the explanation, most states need to devote a good deal of attention to the problem. Current estimates suggest that with any luck we will be able to train a million and a half new teachers during the Sixties. Of these, nearly half a million will be needed for school growth. Only a million will be available to replace men who leave the schools. With a teaching force of 1.4 million today, and 1.9 million by 1970, we will need to keep turnover in every state down to 6 percent if we are to maintain present class sizes. If half our states continue to lose 10 percent of their teachers each year, they can only look forward to swollen classes and deteriorating instruction.

New Threat to Consumers

Advocates of retail price-fixing – chiefly manufacturers and smaller merchants – haven't given up despite the recent flurry over rigged prices in the electrical industry and the Attorney General's promise of a thorough study of fixed retail prices. They're currently promoting the Madden Quality Stabilization Bill.

The Madden Bill would legalize price-fixing by exempting manufacturers from antitrust laws. (The quality stabilization theme comes from a claim that lowering prices reduces quality while fixing prices stabilizes quality.) Fair trade laws, being state laws, were rela-

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tively ineffective in interstate commerce. But the Madden Bill, as a federal act, would apply in and *between* all states and the District of Columbia. It would substitute the emotionally neutral name of quality stabilization for the tarnished name of fair trade. "Fair trade has become a dirty word," argues one supporter of the bill. "But quality stabilization comes in with a clean slate. Let's say," he adds, "that right now the Madden Bill is more saleable and better PR-wise."

Sentiment for adoption of the bill (HR 116, now being considered by the House Commerce Committee) is being mobilized by Quality Brands Associates, a nonprofit Gary, Indiana, organization whose founder and president is a Gary auto parts manufacturer, John W. Anderson. For many years, Mr. Anderson ran the now-defunct American Fair Trade Council, but late in 1958, he wrote off fair trade as being beyond help and took up the banner for quality stabilization.

QBA's annual budget of nearly $250,000 (part comes from interested manufacturers, the rest from Anderson himself) is used to run "service" offices in New York and Washington and to publish promotional material.

So far, the bill has been endorsed by such powerful trade groups as the National Retail Furniture Association, the National Appliance and Radio-TV Dealers Association and the National Retail Hardware Association. Opposition has been spotty. The Federal Trade Commission, the Bureau of the Budget and the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce and Agriculture all opposed an attempt in 1959 to pass a federal fair trade bill. But none of these agencies has yet come out against the Madden Bill; even so staunch a foe of price-fixing as Consumers Union has taken no stand.

Fixed prices mean the strangling of competition, and finally, of the consumer. For fixed prices generally tend to be higher prices. To document this, a St. Louis newspaper sometime ago compared prices in Missouri, which had no fair trade law, with prices in fair-trade Illinois. Prices on identical merchandise were from 4 to 47.4 percent higher in Illinois.

A Home for American Art

No one seriously questions that European painting, in the aggregate from 1200 A.D. to the present, is immeasurably superior to anything yet produced on these shores. But this does not mean there is no such thing as American art. Unfortunately the visitor to Washington – from Dubuque or Delhi – can easily draw that conclusion from what seems to be the total absence of concern on the part of the American Government for American art.

The National Gallery of Art supplies an excellent view of European art, particularly painting, from the earliest Renaissance up to the start of this century. Some of the greatest European masterpieces are in the Gallery. American art, however, is not represented with anything like the same completeness or the same quality in individual examples. Now there are two bills before the Senate (and two before the House) which would provide a home for the National Collection of Fine Arts and the proposed National Portrait Gallery. The proposed home – the Civil Service Building in the District of Columbia, also known as the Old Patent Office – is itself one of the architectural monuments of the nation's capital and was only barely saved in recent years from destruction in favor of a parking lot.

In the Senate, legislation introduced by Senators Humphrey of Minnesota, Williams of New Jersey, and Long of Missouri, would establish a National Portrait Gallery and house it in up to one-half of the space in the Old Patent Office Building – the remainder of the space to be reserved for the National Collection of Fine Arts (which was the intended occupant of the building when Congress ordered its preservation in 1958).

Sen. Clinton Anderson of New Mexico declined to join Humphrey on the grounds that no new legislation was needed. On February 24, however, Anderson, joined by Senator Saltonstall, introduced legislation of his own establishing a Portrait Gallery in the Old Patent Office Building. The language in all four bills is very similar but there are significant differences. The Humphrey bill grants the new Portrait Gallery up to half the space of the building and specifies that the building shall also house the National Collection of Fine Arts. The Anderson bill makes no mention of all of the National Collection and gives the Portrait Gallery use of "the whole or any part of the building."

That language opens up the direct possibility that if the Anderson bill is the one finally passed, the National Collection of Fine Arts will never occupy the building reserved for it by Congress in 1958, but will continue to be crowded in among the stuffed elephants and plaster Esquimaux of the Museum of Natural History – in space which is needed by the Museum of Natural History and which is pitifully inadequate to show anything like the scope of the National Collection.

The National Collection itself, it must be confessed, is no great shakes as an assemblage of art, either American or European. There are better collections of American painting in New York, Chicago and dozens of other American cities and towns. But in Washington, the nation's capital, the National Collection is at present our last best hope, such as it is. If the Collection can stay alive, if it can find suitable quarters for preservation and exhibition, if it can come out from behind the elephants in the Natural History Museum, it just may, in the future, attract the kind of liberal and princely givers with whom the National Gallery has been so singularly blessed.

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Morton H. Halperin

The Future of NATO

"The attempt in the short run to deal with NATO's political problems by proposing a bogus military solution can only interfere with the steps which are in fact vitally necessary."

The NATO Council recently held its first session of the Kennedy Administration with the American approach to the meeting – and the Alliance – heavily influenced by the report of a special committee headed by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Although Secretary of State Dean Rusk did propose some changes in the operations of the Alliance, the decisions taken at the session do not indicate that the Alliance is prepared to take the steps necessary to meet the challenges now facing the North Atlantic community.

The much-talked-about problem of NATO is the result of a number of changes in the international political, military and economic scenes. Coming one on top of the other they have created a need for fundamental reconsideration of the purposes and potential of the Atlantic community in an international environment far different from the one in which the NATO Alliance was created.

One of the major political problems now facing the NATO Alliance is the determination of the Kennedy Administration to reorient American policy toward the former colonial areas. The United States' vote on Angola at the recent General Assembly Session is probably only a symptom of this major reorientation of American policy. In determining to support the drive for the end of colonialism, the United States cannot help but damage its relations with its NATO Allies.

A second major political problem facing the NATO Alliance is the changing attitude of France and in particular of Charles de Gaulle. Although the effects of the recent abortive coup are difficult to predict, they are not likely to alter France's current refusal to integrate military forces within the NATO area. Nor is it likely to alter de Gaulle's demand for political consultation between the United States, Britain and France to coordinate policy throughout the world. Any attempt to improve the NATO Alliance will come up against the need to get the support of de Gaulle who, in general, has not been sympathetic to the kinds of changes which the Kennedy Administration seems to be moving toward, and which seem to be necessary.

But in a sense NATO's political "problem" is largely not a problem but an opportunity. Confronted with the growing challenge of the Sino-Soviet bloc, the Western democracies are now faced with a serious and enduring threat to their survival. As President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan have expressed it, with Western unity the West is likely to emerge triumphant. If the West continues to be separated politically, economically and militarily, the problem looks much less hopeful. Thus, the major problem of the West is to find some way to unify, to draw closer together in its dealings with the Sino-Soviet bloc and with the rest of the world, and to combine economic and military resources in a way that maximizes the potential influence, strength and well-being of the Western democracies.

Reinforcing the need for unity to deal with extra-European problems is the fact that the military problem now confronting NATO is difficult to solve given the current political relations between the Alliance countries. The legitimate military problems of NATO in terms of defending Europe, and the difficulties which these create, have been exacerbated by proposed solutions which seem rather to complicate the problem and to have unfortunate political side effects.

The potential military threats to the NATO area are: a full-scale Soviet ground and air attack, a limited ground attack and nuclear blackmail. The NATO Alliance has been most preoccupied with the threat of a major attack on the central front. In its early days NATO depended on American atomic strength to deter a Soviet attack. With the declining credibility of the American deterrent, NATO has been groping for an alternative deterrence strategy. At the present time NATO military forces are committed to the use of tactical nuclear weapons in the event of war.

The other two military threats facing the NATO Alliance seem to be far more likely and far more serious and yet have received very little attention in NATO

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planning and political discussions. Although a limited Soviet attack aimed at capturing a particular area, for example, West Berlin, seems more probable than a full-scale invasion, NATO has consistently refused to recognize and accept the possibility of a local limited war on the European continent and has not made any plans for dealing with such a contingency. Also at least potentially serious is the threat of nuclear blackmail: either an explicit Soviet threat to attack a particular country with nuclear weapons unless it yields to a Soviet ultimatum or more subtle Soviet use of the threat of nuclear forces to influence the behavior of America's NATO Allies.

Thus the NATO Alliance has failed to develop a viable strategy for dealing with its military problems and has continued to rely on the American strategic umbrella. The European members of NATO have become uneasy because of two somewhat contradictory fears. On the one hand they fear that the US is too prone to use its nuclear forces and on the other, that it would not in fact unleash SAC to defend Europe.

Within the past year, a number of prominent individuals, including former NATO Secretary-General Paul Henri Spaak, NATO Supreme Commander Lauris Norstad, and a State Department Committee headed by Robert R. Bowie, have proposed the creation of a NATO nuclear force to deal with these problems. Secretary Rusk presented an apparently similar proposal at the recent Council session but did not spell out any of the details of his plan. Although a number of commentators have hailed the proposal as constituting a major step toward the unification of the NATO Alliance, a close examination of the proposal does not support this view. Although the various plans for the creation of a NATO strategic work differ from each other in detail, none presents a workable proposal for the use of a NATO strategic nuclear force in any military role.

Some False Assumptions

It is extremely difficult to maintain a strategic force which cannot be destroyed by the other side in a first strike. By working hard and spending a great deal of money, the United States itself can probably develop an invulnerable strategic force. However, it is extremely unlikely that a NATO strategic force, unless it included the entire American force, could, in fact, be invulnerable. Thus a NATO nuclear force could not hope to deter a Soviet first strike unless it counted on using the American strategic force. And if it counted on using American forces, it is not at all clear that putting some of the forces under NATO control adds to their deterrent reliability. Another possible role for a NATO strategic force is as a first-strike threat to deter a Soviet attack in Europe. But in order for a NATO strategic force to be used in a first strike, it would be necessary to get some sort of agreement in the NATO Council for the unleashing of such a force. If the United States had a veto in the NATO Council, she could prevent the use of these forces or allow the use of these forces in the same way that she could use her own forces, and the NATO forces would simply be American forces in a different guise. On the other hand, even if the NATO Council could use the NATO strategic forces without the approval of the United States, it still would not impose a more credible threat than American strategic forces. It is not clear, for example, that Germany is more likely to authorize the firing of strategic forces to protect Turkey than is the United States. Unless each country can, on its own, fire the NATO strategic forces, they simply are a less effective deterrent than the present American strategic force. It is extremely unlikely that the NATO Alliance would set up a strategic force which it would allow any single country in the Alliance to use on its own initiative. The adoption of such a procedure would create, in effect, a series of national nuclear forces, and the prevention of the creation of such forces seems to be one of the primary motives behind the suggestion that NATO create a strategic force.

The proposal to create a NATO strategic force is based on one or both of two false assumptions: The first is that there is no alternative for the defense of Europe. This, however, does not seem to be the case. According to most students of the problem, a NATO conventional ground army of approximately 30 divisions could successfully defend Europe on the ground without the use of tactical nuclear weapons or the threat of strategic forces. The NATO Alliance at the present time has 21 divisions. Without denying the difficulties that would be involved in increasing its strength to 30 divisions, this alternative does exist and is not impossible. An enlarged NATO conventional force would be much more effective than either a NATO strategic force or continued reliance on the American threat of massive retaliation to deter Soviet massive or limited ground attack on the continent of Europe. Such a force would do so without creating as serious a threat of a global total war.

But it should be noted that even if NATO does not develop the political initiative required to raise its ground force level to 30 divisions, the creation of a NATO strategic force would not alleviate the situation. It is likely to be less credible than the American strategic deterrent, and, in a sense, would reduce the credibility of the American deterrent by implying that US forces will not be used in the defense of Europe.

Thus, the argument for a NATO strategic force rests on the dubious assumption that it will help to solve political problems while not being militarily or strate-

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gically viable. Some supporters of a NATO nuclear force, while accepting these arguments, suggest that the creation of a NATO force will alleviate the (unsound) fears of the Europeans, reduce the pressures for the development of independent nuclear capabilities in other countries, and convince the French and the British to give up their present independent strategic nuclear forces. But it seems extremely doubtful that a proposal which is clearly indefensible on strategic grounds, will in fact, in the long run, contribute to a viable solution of the NATO problem and to the further integration of the NATO community. It would seem rather that the attempt in the short run to deal with NATO's political problems by proposing a bogus military solution, can only interfere with the steps which are in fact vitally necessary. The attention which has been given in recent months to the proposal for a strategic force has drawn attention away from the need to increase the size of NATO ground armies and to eliminate their reliance on tactical nuclear weapons. This is, as Secretary Rusk sought to emphasize, the major military question facing the NATO Alliance and it can only be solved if attention is focused on it and if it is recognized that there is no sound alternative way of providing for the military defense of Europe.

Interlocking with the political and military problems facing the NATO Alliance are the economic difficulties brought about by the changing economic positions of the United States and Europe and the drive toward European economic unification. At present, the European members of NATO are split into two groups, the Little Six which is committed to the formation of an Economic Community, and members of the Outer-Seven group which are seeking a Free Trade Area. The fundamental problem, however, which keeps the two groups separate is a political rather than an economic one. The Common Market is largely politically motivated and aimed ultimately at the formation of a political union. On the other hand, the Free Trade Area is a more traditional response to the economic dangers of the Common Market. To bridge the two, then, will be very difficult and if it is done at a price which dilutes the drive toward political unity of the Little Six, it will have been a very serious price to pay indeed.

The second major economic problem facing the Alliance is that of aid and loans to the underdeveloped areas. The United States is pressing its now affluent allies to share the burden it has assumed in aiding the underdeveloped areas. And it appears that under the pressures of the Kennedy Administration, the Europeans are yielding and agreeing to a joint aid program.

The NATO Alliance stands today at a crossroads. It can move forward to solve current economic and military problems and become a major force in shaping the world in the Sixties and Seventies, or it can fall into disuse and can become an ignored relic of the immediate postwar period. Which way it goes will depend not so much on the particular immediate solutions put forward to the pressing problems, but rather, the attitude and the approach of the major leaders of the Alliance to the way in which they would like to see the NATO Alliance develop and the sacrifices in national sovereignty they are willing to make. The movement in the NATO Alliance toward political unity requires bold, imaginative steps. It requires more than simply asserting, as Macmillan did at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology last month, that something more than interdependence is needed. Unity will come not from expressions that unity is needed but from a willingness to take steps toward unity, if necessary, at the expense of short-run national interests.

The Willingness To Consult

It does not seem that the NATO Alliance is ready for total political federation. It may, however, be of some value to set up a NATO parliamentary assembly on the order of the Council of Europe or the Assembly of the Little Six. Much more important will be the steps taken at the political level by the governments of the NATO powers. This requires basically a willingness of the major powers to consult on all important policies with all of their allies. It requires an intimate collaboration on policy, not only on the NATO area, but throughout the world by all the members of the NATO Alliance. It also suggests the need for changing the NATO Council from the routine low-level body that it now is into a high-level and important deliberative body. The appointment of Thomas Finletter to the post of American representative on the NATO Council is an important step in the right direction. In addition, the appointment of an American to the position of Secretary-General of the NATO Alliance seems to be called for. Although this is probably not possible in the immediate future, given the recent appointment of a Dutchman to the post, the NATO Alliance should be prepared to accept an American in this position in the not-too-distant future. An American Secretary-General would symbolize the importance of the position as a policy-making, policy-coordinating focus for the NATO countries.

Close and continuous consultation is of course not a guarantee of agreement on policy. In order to reach such agreement, so that the Western powers can take a unified approach to problems facing the Alliance throughout the world, it will be necessary for real compromise on each side. The United States will probably have to show greater sympathy for the colonial problems of its allies, and perhaps re-evaluate the worth of symbolic votes in the General Assembly and other acts

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that win the fleeting approval of the rather fickle public opinion of underdeveloped countries while creating deep-seated distrust and misunderstanding among the members of the Alliance. At the same time, NATO countries will have to become more sympathetic to America's worldwide problems in an age of rapid decolonization. It is impossible to expect that common policies on all issues will emerge in the very near future, but it is likely that with genuine consultation and intent to reach common policies, the area of common policy could be gradually expanded until it covered all elements of foreign and defense policy.

If the feeling can be developed on the part of all the NATO countries that they are moving, at least gradually, toward a political confederation, and that, even in the short-run, there is intense and continuous cooperation on all aspects of military and foreign policy, the particular military problems of the NATO Alliance should be susceptible to a ready solution. The strictly strategic problem of the defense of Europe can best be solved by the development of a 30-division conventional army. Such a force should be prepared to fight without the use of tactical or strategic nuclear forces, and in fact should expect to fight without the use of such weapons.

What sort of tactical nuclear capability the NATO Alliance should have is a much more difficult question. However, it should be clear that the introduction of tactical nuclear weapons is not likely to be to the military advantage of the NATO Alliance. That is, any situation in which conventional forces are insufficient to hold the tide of Russian aggression, the introduction by both sides of tactical nuclear weapons is not likely to facilitate the military problems of defending Europe. The Russians, of course, may introduce nuclear weapons and this alone suggests the need for maintaining a tactical nuclear capability.

But it should be clear that the use of tactical nuclear weapons would drastically alter the situation in a way that would make both sides acutely aware of the dangers of global war. Thus while the battlefield impact of tactical nuclear weapons will be important, probably more important will be their effect on the relative will of each side and its perception of the danger of global war. Should the West ever decide to introduce nuclear weapons, it should do so only if it is seeking to demonstrate its willingness to risk global war to defend Europe and not with the expectation of gaining a tactical advantage. This potential use of tactical nuclear weapons suggests that they should be isolated from the battlefield, not given to field commanders who may use them in a moment of panic, and it suggests that these weapons should be kept in separate units which could use them selectively. There is therefore no reason for integrated NATO nuclear units and a very strong case for tactical nuclear weapons remaining strictly in American hands. The further political integration of NATO should significantly enhance the credibility of the use of American strategic forces in the event of a grave threat to Europe. This should remove the pressures for the development of a NATO strategic force and may over the long run lead to the British and French surrendering their aspirations for independent nuclear capabilities and agreeing to concentrate on contributing to the NATO conventional ground deterrent. Given close political cooperation in the NATO Alliance, including agreement on the conditions under which strategic nuclear forces should be used, the development of a nuclear capability separate from the American strategic capability becomes unnecessary. And in this case, the negative political effects of the creation of a NATO strategic force, including accelerating the tendency toward dispersal of nuclear weapons to Nth countries, should dominate the decision.

The economic problems of the NATO Alliance are also more likely to be susceptible to solution within the context of significantly greater political cohesion of the Alliance. Though every effort should be made to induce Great Britain to join the Common Market, this should not be done in a way which compromises the ultimate political objective of the formation of a political federation. The United States should also carefully consider whether it can join in the economic integration movement by proposing the creation of a NATO European-wide Free Trade Zone. We cannot indefinitely urge our NATO Allies to liberalize their trade policies if we continue to resist this tendency.

Time for Confederation

The problems of the NATO Alliance, then, are many and varied. They are, within the context of minor changes of the present political relationships between the states, difficult of solution. Given the present drift, it is likely that the problems will not be solved or that the solutions which are developed will be only of short-term value and in the long run will prove to be demoralizing and serve to weaken the bonds of the NATO Alliance. On the other hand the time is ripe for the forging of a true NATO political confederation and of the strengthening of the bonds which unite the countries of the NATO Alliance. If properly led, with vigor and determination, NATO can become a major political force shaping the world. If it fails to move together, this failure may spell the doom of Western democracy. The problem is major, the opportunity is clear, and, with vigorous and determined leadership, as we might hope to get from the present Administration, the North Atlantic Alliance may enter a new period of unity and strength.

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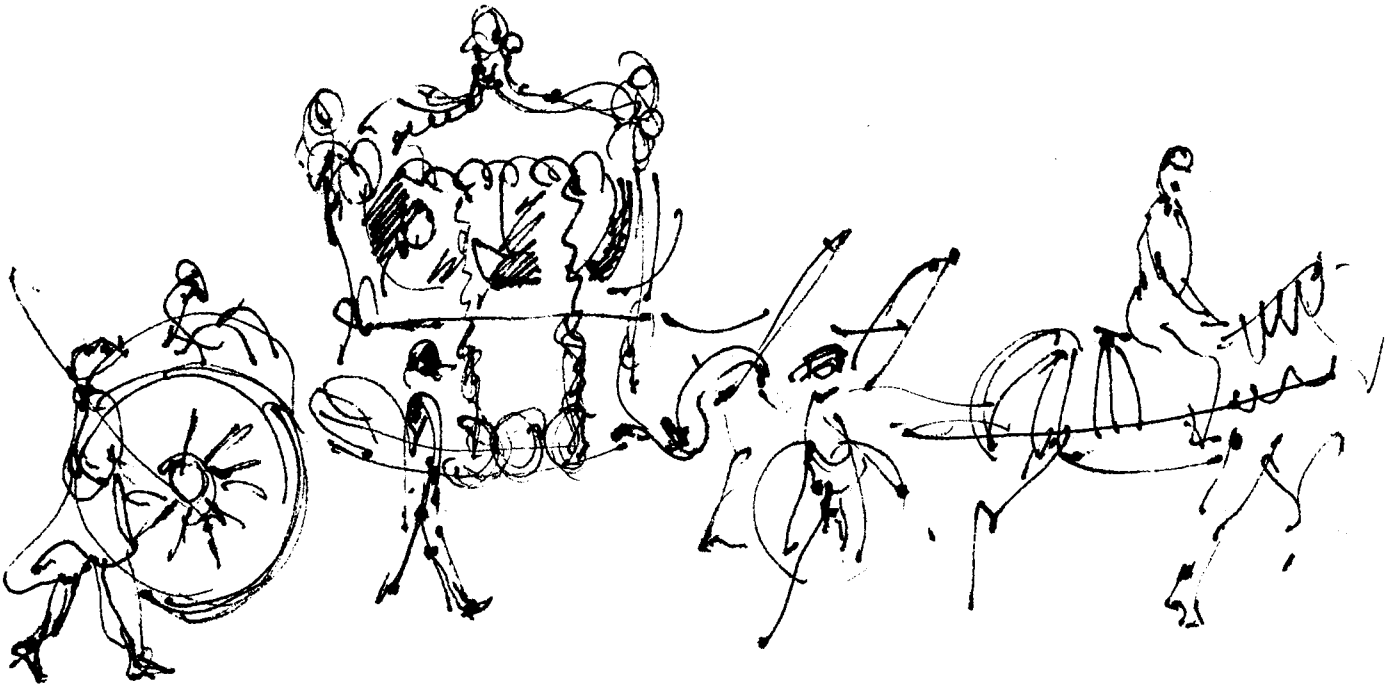

The Queen and I

by Malcolm Muggeridge

Some three years ago I wrote an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* on the English Monarchy. It aroused, at the time, a good deal of controversy and abuse, and even now I am occasionally asked whether I think Princess Margaret ought to have married Group-Captain Townsend, or whether the Duke of Edinburgh is a good husband, as though I were some kind of expert on such questions. This is far from being the case. My knowledge of the Royal family is confined to what appears about them in newspapers and magazines. Since I read little of this vast, and, to me, nauseating outpouring of printed matter, and am, in any case, skeptical about the authenticity of a great deal of it, I may be said to be more meagerly informed on the subject than are most of my fellow-citizens, who tend to read it all avidly and credulously. Even so, having, at a journalistic chance, been pitch-forked into the subject, with consequences quite unforeseen at the time, I find myself continuing to brood intermittently on it.

The deadly solemnity with which my article was received, and the furious indignation it generated, made me feel that the Monarchy, at any rate as a social phenomenon, deserved to be taken more seriously than I had previously supposed. Nothing is more illustrative of the true nature of society than a brush, such as I perforce had, with its manipulators. One sees then, in terms of a personal experience, how Lenin's famous axiom – who whom? – really works. The actual fly-wheels and pistons are discerned beneath the machine's quiet, reassuring hum. It is like the difference between being a prison visitor and doing a stretch oneself.

At one point, I went to see an eminent lawyer to consult him as to whether an action for libel lay in the distorted newspaper accounts of what I had actually written about the Monarchy, and in the offensive and professionally damaging comment based thereon. Of course there had been libel, he said, pacing up and down his office, but I must never forget that, in view of the circumstances, and the particular matter at issue, I could not count upon a jury or a judge taking an unprejudiced view. It was eerie, and a little alarming, to have the theory of "People's" justice, as administered in Communist countries, thus expounded by this Dickensian figure – winged collar, dark suit, liability to press his finger-tips together – in the antique quiet and tranquility of one of London's Inns of Court.

Before I became a delinquent, my natural impulse was to regard the Monarchy as essentially comical. With all the appurtenances of supreme authority, as crown, throne, regal address, the Monarch has come to exercise none. Any rural district counselor, in practice,

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has more say in the conduct of public affairs. On those frail shoulders rests the burden of an empire, one of the more ponderous and high-minded commentators like Mr. Richard Dimbleby was liable to remark at the time of the present Queen's coronation. One might as well say of Miss Barbara Hutton that on her frail, or not so frail shoulders rests the burden of Woolworths. There is no Empire, but only a holding company – the Commonwealth – set up to dispose of its dwindling residual assets, on whose managerial board the Queen does not sit, though she has inherited a sizable block of non-voting shares. This is an essentially humorous situation, which a Jonathan Swift or a Mark Twain would have known how to handle. It is a traditional music-hall joke, in which pretension and actuality are grotesquely at variance. Courtiers back respectfully away from a Royal presence which can neither harm nor, appreciably, benefit them; ladies drop creaking curtsies to an image of authority which history has rendered ineffectual and irrelevant.

Even obsequiousness and sycophancy, to have reality, must be directed toward some end. The captain who officiously helps his brigadier on with his overcoat hopes to become a major. The salaried underling who hurries forward to settle a millionaire into his Rolls Royce hopes to steer some of the other's wealth in his direction. The gigolo who declares passionate love to a wizened heiress hopes to participate in her affluence. If the brigadier disposes of no patronage, the millionaire of no surplus cash, and the heiress cannot be led to the altar, these acts become merely derisory. Nonetheless, it is an indubitable fact that the Monarchy, in its contemporary version, has attracted more adulation, not less, with the extinction of its power and authority. Ostensibly at any rate, it is most beloved when it is most futile. Kings who claimed to rule by Divine Right were indifferent as to whether or not they were popular with their subjects. Divine approbation sufficed. Henry VIII would have seen no point in consulting Dr. Gallup had that worthy been functioning in Tudor times. Subsequent Hanoverian monarchs were too bestial in their ways, and exorbitant in their financial requirements, even to envisage the possibility of attracting the people's love. It was the people's cash they wanted. Now that the Royal family's sole responsibility is to present an image of domestic felicity, to flap a hand and flash a gleaming smile at the adoring multitude, they have become as sought after, crowded round, gazed upon, and generally adulated as any film star.

It might plausibly have been supposed that, as the English social structure became more theoretically equalitarian, the status of hereditary authority would decline. This has happened in, for instance, the case of the House of Lords, which, precisely because it has been deprived of all effective legislative power, no longer commands any respect, or even interest. Its proceedings are seldom reported in the popular press, and then only when a peer chances to make some eccentric pronouncement on matters like adultery or sodomy, which are inherently newsworthy. Other hereditary offices, such as Lord-Lieutenancies of Counties, have become almost totally forgotten. Incumbents are appointed to them as they fall vacant, but their names make little impact outside the columns of the *Times*, that Forest Lawn of expiring authority, where defunct offices and officers are interred, to the notes of sonorous background music, and encased in asbestos platitudes to ensure everlasting preservation. All the more curious is it, therefore, that the Monarchy should have undergone a quite contrary development, becoming, as it shed its power, ever more popular, and the subject of an ever more rapacious curiosity.

The Case for Constitutional Monarchy

A constitutional monarchy, as such, has much to recommend it. The case for one is presented cogently and impressively by Walter Bagehot in his classic Essay on the subject. As he points out, a State requires a Head, who can communicate with, and receive, other Heads of State, and generally provide a focus for the mystique, as distinct from the exercise, of government. There are decided advantages in making this Headship of State hereditary and Royal rather than elective, and so liable to be hitched on to the unedifying gravy-train of universal suffrage politics. The essential feature of a constitutional monarchy, however, is that it should be completely subservient to the legislature. If, as Bagehot graphically puts it, the legislature were to pass a bill for the Monarch's execution, he or she would be bound to sign it or abdicate. Incidentally, I was imprudent enough to quote from Bagehot in this sense, thereby calling down on my head particularly vehement accusations of being scandalous and seditious. There can be little doubt that, were a popular English newspaper today to serialize Bagehot's Essay (which, rightly, continues to be used as a textbook for history students at state schools and universities), it would thereby bring itself into such public odium.

In the light of the undoubted advantages of a constitutional monarchy, its adoption in the United States deserves consideration. President Eisenhower, for instance, would have made an impeccable constitutional monarch. It is interesting, in this connection, that, on first taking office, he publicly stated that he saw the functions of the Presidency in such a light. His lack of interest in government, which laid him open to criticism as a President, would have been a virtue in a constitutional monarch. As for his addiction to golf – when I think of the relaxations of some of our past English sovereigns, this one seems innocuous, if not positively praiseworthy. The chance for an Eisenhower Dynasty

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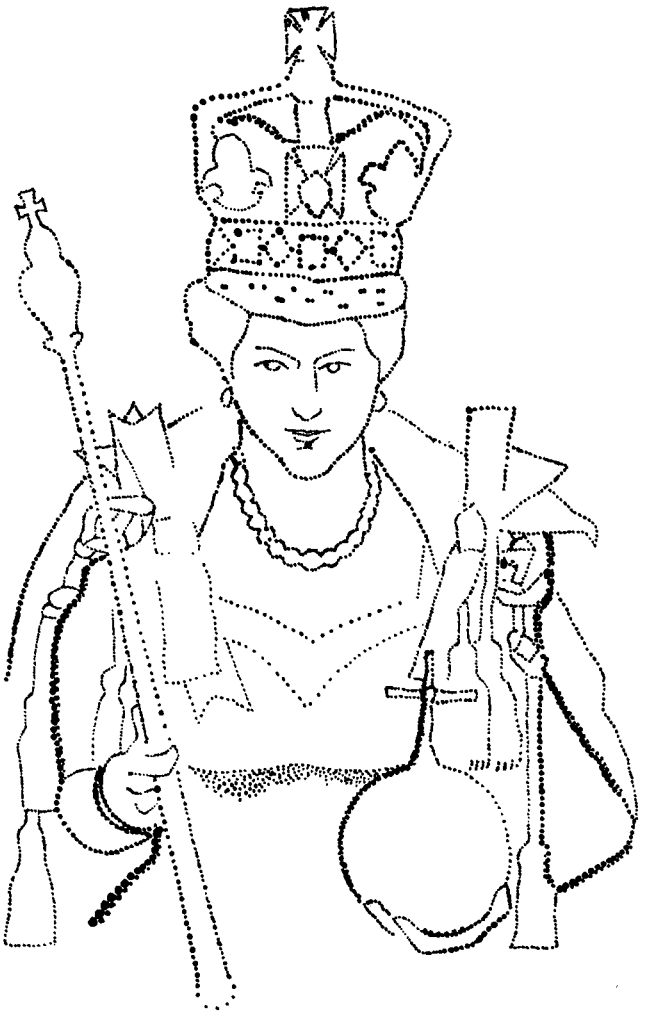
would seem to have passed. We shall never now, alas, see on the stage of history King Ike I, or better, in view of America's greatly increased power and extended responsibilities throughout the world, the Emperor Ike. Perhaps the Kennedy line, richly endowed as it is with heirs and successors, may yet find its way into the *Almanac de Gotha* and the Book of Common Prayer. Some of the photographs of the new President's charming little daughter, Caroline, as she gaily waved to admiring citizens and photographers, irresistibly recalled to me, across a span of two and a half decades, two other little girls, similarly waving, on their way to Sandringham or Balmoral. After all, if Mr. Kennedy serves his statutory two terms as President, he will still only be 51. Having ruled for eight years, there will be many more years left to reign.

The abusive letters and telephone calls, and other public and private insults evoked by my, as I fondly supposed, sensible and amiable observations on the Monarchy, reflected a state of mind which I could not but regard as morbid and potentially dangerous. What, I asked myself, was the explanation? How did it come about that English people, who, in the ordinary way, are sane, humorous and easy-going, should, on so trivial a pretext, behave like a Jew-baiting Nazi mob? It is, of course, possible, and even probable, that the actual numbers involved were much fewer than might have appeared. The abusive letters, though largely illiterate, suggested, by their notepaper and manner of address, rather genteel than proletarian origins. The voices which screamed insults down my telephone had about them likewise a faint flavor of gentility. An anonymous correspondent who wrote to my wife rejoicing that our youngest child had been killed in a skiing accident, was able to type, and even, approximately, to spell. It was in clubs, expensive restaurants and first-class railway carriages that I was made to feel uncomfortable rather than in omnibuses and pubs.

In these days of mass communications, it is next to impossible to tell how far what purport to be manifestations of popular emotion are authentic or contrived. The press may be unanimous, but it is controlled, to a great extent, by a handful of not particularly edifying individuals. Similarly, radio and television. The so-called Press Council, which in England is supposed to uphold high standards of journalism, is a stuffed shirt affair. Its members, to adapt a famous line of Dryden's, for knighthoods will cry whore to their own mother. When, from time to time, they administer ponderous and self-righteous rebukes to individual journalists and newspapers, I am always reminded of how Mr. Winkle, having got involved in a fracas along with the rest of the Pickwick Club, was seen to take off his coat and begin belaboring a small boy. It did not surprise me, therefore, that, far from providing any redress when I found myself in the stocks, they joined the catawaulers.



We shall never be able to differentiate, nor will posterity, between our true hopes and desires, and those implanted in us or attributed to us. My own conclusion, drawn from this experience of momentarily interfering with the propagation of the legend of popular monarchy, is that only a specialized few invest authentic passion in such legends. The rest are swept along on a tidal wave of subliminal, stereoscopic emotion. Skilled and numerically insignificant cheerleaders know how to produce and manipulate the Voice of the People, while still righteously insisting that it is the Voice of God. Government by hysteria, unhappily, can easily be identified with government by popular acclaim. In the Country of the Blind he who can see is King, and in the Country of the Dumb, he who can speak.

However few or many, with conscious purpose, participate in the legend of popular monarchy, there can be no question about the efficiency and efficacy with which the legend is promoted and sustained. It goes from strength to strength. No fatuity is too oleaginous to serve its purpose. The spotlight which shines upon the Royal family grows ever brighter. Their doings, their comings and goings, are ever more minutely

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examined and displayed. A legend which can incorporate Mr. Antony Armstrong-Jones, not to mention his former friends and associates, as this one has with notable success, is strong indeed. It is true that, in the interminable expounding of the legend, there is noticeable, from time to time, a decided undertow of irritation and malice. The most practiced hands, constantly spelling out the same story, filling the same frames with the same pictures for the same strip, grow weary and sullen. Even so, the Monarchy's popularity rating has never been higher. Gossip writers cannot have enough of it. Pulp magazines thirst for it as the heart after the water-brook. For photographers it is Midas-treasure. Leader-writers and sonorous BBC voices intone its rubric on all possible occasions. The characters may be few and ordinary, and in themselves of limited interest; the script may be repetitive, undergoing only occasional and minor variations; but the show remains triumphantly at the top of the Top Ten.

Part of the explanation of this is to be found in the intensification of snobbishness which, surprisingly, has accompanied the transformation of England into a Welfare State. Never have class divisions been so acute and anguished as since they were, theoretically, abolished. The nerves of class consciousness have been made raw and inflamed by the administration of what purported to be a sedative. Instead of a cure for this collective asthmatic condition being affected, new and virulent allergies have been set up. The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate, were, at one time, according to the well-known hymn, expected to take for granted one another's due estate. This was, admittedly, easier for the former than the latter, but such was the accepted arrangement. Now, death duties and supertax have forced the rich man to turn over his castle to the National Trust. The castle gate is open, on payment of a small fee, to all poor men who care to enter it, as many do, examining with eager curiosity the furnishings, the sanitation, the pictures and the *objets d'art*, if any. Class infiltration has taken place on a vast scale, but has only served to exacerbate class-consciousness. As poor Mr. Gaitskell has learned to his cost, equalitarianism, preached by the Labour Party, and put into effect through legislative and fiscal measures, has produced an unprecedented sense of social inequality. The sheep have leapt out of their pens in search of better pasture, leaving the unhappy shepherds, who first opened these vistas to them, with a dwindling flock, and looking decidedly silly.

Public (in America, private) schools, which once counted their waiting lists in scores, now count them in hundreds. The fees go merrily up, and so do the numbers of those seeking entry. Peers may be, as legislators, at a heavy discount, but, socially they are booming. Their marriages and divorces, their travels and real estate deals, their feasting and their fasting, are eagerly reported. In the days when Dukes of Bedford appeared in history books, they never had anything like the showing the present Duke gets on television when he opens a nudist camp in his ancestral seat, or joins Mr. Perry Como on a merry-go-round. Everyone wants to speak like a BBC announcer, to dress like the Windsors; to experience, if only through the lush prose of women's magazine fiction, the sense of being socially superior. How ironical, and yet how life-like, that this universal yearning should have come to pass, not as a result of insistence on the sanctity of class divisions, but as a result of an alleged passion to abolish them!

The social mountaineers, setting forth with their nailed boots and climbing equipment, doggedly essaying now this peak, now that, see in the distant mists an ultimate summit – the Monarchy. This is the pinnacle, not, indeed, ever to be climbed by them, majestically unattainable, but endowing their puny endeavors with validity. If there were no Everest, who would bother with Snowden? Keeping up with the Joneses is glorified because of Armstrong-Jones. I remember, years ago, seeing in some Soviet museum a picture from Czarist times, showing God in His Heaven beaming down radiance on the Czar and his family, who in turn beamed down radiance on an ecclesiastical dignitary, who in turn beamed down radiance on a moujik and his family. A contemporary English version would show arc-lamps as the source of the original radiance, with this being passed on from crown to coronet to bowler hat to homberg. The Bolsheviks attacked the Czarist social mystique from the top downwards. They abolished God, and butchered the Imperial family in a cellar, thereby disposing of the legend of the Little Father forever. The Labour Party made a feeble and confused assault on our English social mystique from the bottom upwards. It has proved a ludicrous failure, leaving what they sought to destroy to flourish and proliferate as never before.

One Truly Stable Element

The Monarchy, then, in that Snobcracy into which the Welfare State, contrary to the ostensible wishes and expectations of its founders, has transformed itself, provides a distant and alluring horizon. It has also, at least in some minds, a more practical function. When the social fabric rattles from the deep reverberations of our time, and the winds of change howl and shriek in the outside darkness, it is comforting to feel that in our old English homestead we have one truly stable element, the Throne; one truly beloved figure, the Monarch. In Victorian times industrialists managed to persuade themselves that they were held in high regard by their employees, landowners that they were venerated by their tenants. Such fantasies have long ago been laid aside. Profitable, and possibly socially

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beneficial speculative enterprises like take-over bids, it is recognized, find little popular favor; landlords, of whatever variety, are not the recipients of affectionate glances and hearty greetings as they look over their building-lots or latest block of flats; a banker or stock-broker or director may be a prince of good fellows in his club, but well knows that his public appearances are unlikely to be spontaneously applauded.

How reassuring, then, for such persons, that the Throne should be authentically popular! The public esteem and affection in which it is held provides collateral against which they can increase their own already heavy overdrafts on their popularity accounts. Small wonder that the Stock Exchange roof is shaken when the brokers, stiff as ramrods, sing the National Anthem. Company directors, over their third expense-account brandy, are liable to shed a loyal tear; real estate, oil and insurance men drink the loyal toast with full-hearted and full-throated ease; Generals and General Electric, Their Graces, Their Excellencies, Their Worships, Honorables and Right Honorables, all likewise lift up their glasses, and their hearts with them, to the Queen, God bless her! In green rooms and board rooms alike, in episcopal palaces, palace grills and *palais de dances*, wherever two or three are gathered together for whom the Garter, the Thistle, and even the humble OBE, are crocks of gold at the rainbow's end, there shall loyalty be found.

In the poker game of politics the Monarchy is regarded as an ace, to be held in reserve, and only played if there are dangerous depredations on the bank. This doubtless accounts for the esteem in which it has lately come to be held in what Mr. Khrushchev calls "ruling circles" in the United States. There was a time when the Hearst and Luce publications, not to mention the *Chicago Tribune*, were little disposed to venerate the Court of St. James. Now it is very different. The subjects King George III lost crowd eagerly around Queen Elizabeth II. Crawfie goes down as well in Birmingham, Alabama, as in Birmingham, England, and a coronation is as unctuously presented by American television networks as by the BBC itself.

Shortly after the appearance of my article on the Monarchy, Mr. Mike Wallace invited me over to New York to be interviewed by him on the subject. He kindly accommodated me in his house. While we were sitting chatting together, there was a long-distance telephone call from California. As Mr. Wallace found himself, when he picked up the receiver, getting involved in a long and obviously acrimonious conversation, he thoughtfully motioned me to listen in on an available telephone extension, which I cheerfully did. The voice I heard (belonging, as I subsequently learned, to one of the chief executives of the TV network for which Mr. Wallace then worked) was raucous and deeply perturbed as it rebuked Mr. Wallace for interviewing me at all, and appealed to him, if the interview must take place, not to be "soft" with me.

"Don't you realize," it said, in a final effort at persuasion, "that this Queen is the only bulwark against Communism?"

I should add that Mr. Wallace persisted sturdily with our interview, though, presumably out of deference to the anxieties of his employers, it was not transmitted to Washington, where the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh were then staying.

Two of Clubs

The Founding Fathers of the American Republic would surely have been surprised, and perhaps amazed, by the perturbation of Mr. Wallace's caller from California. They would scarcely have expected one of their Republic's more substantial citizens to regard an English sovereign as the mainstay of freedom and the American way of life. In the Kremlin, too, I can imagine an hilarious reaction. Among Mr. Khrushchev's preoccupations, as he labors to make the world safe for Communism, it is difficult to believe that the English Monarchy looms very large. If this ace were ever to be played, he may legitimately calculate, it will assuredly turn out to be a two of clubs.

Such considerations, however, are far from the minds of the crowds who throng the streets when a Royal car is going by, of the readers of *Women's Own* or *Woman's Realm* avid for details of Princess Margaret's home life or the Duke of Edinburgh's latest quips; of the loiterers outside Buckingham Palace staring through the railings, irrespective of whether or not the Queen is in residence, in the vague expectation that something will happen, someone will appear. What impels them? What are they after? To see a vision of themselves transfigured. To commune with majesty in their own lineaments. To participate, however remotely, in the glitter of a palace and the splendor of a throne. Their faces wear the anonymous rapture of televiewers. Like a strip-tease audience, their ecstasy lies in seeming to possess what is invariably beyond their reach. They see through a glass coach darkly. They are kings and queens, not even for a day; just for a passing moment.

Monarchy, for them, is part of the mystique of our time, which is itself a kind of Caliban's dream, full of sounds and sweet airs, so that, like this strangest and last of Shakespeare's creations, when we wake we cry to sleep again. The dream passes across television screens, is recounted in print and spoken through microphones and written in neon lights, shines forth in chromium fittings, speeds along majestic highways, climbs into the sky in gleaming, mountainous buildings, is jet-propelled through space and rocketed into the very stratosphere, where it twinkles and orbits

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among the stars. What a dream it is! And yet, how perilous! Dreams which are earthly, or even stratospheric, so easily turn into nightmares. This one exudes its own inward, invisible nightmarish possibilities in outward and visible mushroom clouds. Though we cry to sleep again, we have at last to awaken. And then? – then we are confronted, as the first man was, and the last will be, with an empty universe, in which we briefly sojourn, not knowing why, or whence we come, or whither, if anywhere, we are going. Then the mystery of things once more enfolds us, and the shadows, out of which our dream was shaped, disperse, as night does when dawn breaks.

Dreams elude, and at last destroy, unless they are of heaven. Knees should never be bowed save before God. Worship and adulation which are directed toward mortality inevitably share the fate of all things mortal; soon give off a stench of decay, and cry out for burial. Suetonius describes how the last Roman Emperors insisted on being worshipped as Gods. As their earthly pretentions became more unconvincing, they were the more insistent on their divine ones. Their kingdom was shrinking to almost nothing, the barbarians were closing in, but a debauched and sycophantic Roman population was still induced, and required, to accord them divine honors, and mouth empty praises of their virtue and valor. Let us beware that a like fate does not overwhelm us. We, too, are well-endowed with bread, along with much other affluence. We, too, have circuses, piped into our homes, astutely and persistently whispered into our ears, to reach the deepest recesses of our unconscious minds. We even have a Britannic Majesty, presiding over a non-existent Empire, and so ingeniously spotlighted and produced as to reduce the wide world's dangerous and thronging stage to this small dimension.

What We Are Fighting

by Louis J. Halle

Nothing about my friend Harry Simple bothers me so much as his refusal to recognize the ideological basis of the Cold War, which he insists on regarding as if it were just another international power-struggle. I mentioned this the other day in conversation with a man whom I had better call X. X is one of those impressive intellectuals who really do know all the answers. He has spent his life combating ideological error, having been a militant Communist in the 1930's, and having become a militant anti-Communist in the 1950's. In other words, he has always marched resolutely in the ranks of the right-thinking.

X explained to me about people like Harry. He said they were governed by a nostalgia for the 19th Century, the good old days when international conflict represented pure power politics rather than ideological struggle. Such people were impelled to make a wishful identification of the present conflict with the vanished world of the past they felt at home in. What this represented, he said, was adult infantilism, an inability to face life as it is, the escape into fantasies, the impulse to return to the womb.

LOUIS J. HALLE *discussed his first encounter with Harry Simple last week. A concluding article will follow.*

Having Harry typed, now, I thought I could at least deal with him on the matter of ideologies. So the next time he dropped in on me I took the subject up. I said that our recent conversation (*New Republic*, May 15) had been on my mind, and that I had come to certain conclusions about his persistence in believing that the East-West conflict was not an ideological struggle.

"I didn't say that," he replied.

"You certainly did!" I countered. "You said that Moscow doesn't represent Marxism, except nominally, that what it represents is simply a continuation of Czarist Russia."

"That's not the same as saying that the East-West conflict is not an ideological struggle."

"Well," I said, "that's what it implies. If the Russians aren't really Marxists, then their challenge isn't really an ideological challenge, is it?"

"It can be an ideological challenge without being Marxist."

"This beats me," I said. "If it's an ideological challenge, and if it isn't Marxist or Communist, then what the devil is it?"

He got up, searched my book-shelves until he found what he wanted, then came back with it. "Let me read you something," he said, settling himself in the chair

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again and leafing through the book. He found his page and proceeded to read the following out loud:

> " 'There are on this earth two nations who, from different points of departure, appear to be advancing toward the same end: they are the Russians and the Americans. . . .
> " 'To attain its end, the American nation bases itself on the interests of the individual and allows the force and reason of individuals to operate freely, without being directed.
> " 'The Russian nation in some way concentrates all the power of society in one man.
> " 'Their points of departure are different, their paths are diverse; nevertheless, each seems summoned by a secret design of Providence to hold in its hands, one day, the destinies of half the world'."

"That," said Harry, "was written in the 1830's, when Karl Marx was still in short pants. It was written by Alexis de Tocqueville, whose definition of the present ideological differences between Russia and the United States didn't depend on there being any Communist movement at all."

I was thinking to myself that the line Harry was now taking could still be said to represent an impulse to return to the womb. But he carried right on, without giving me a chance to put the thought into words.

Outdoing the Byzantines

"If you read Russian history," he said, "what you see is one constant movement from as early as the 9th Century to the present. This movement represents two things: the development of a Byzantine autocracy for one, and expansion for the other.

"When I say a 'Byzantine' autocracy, I mean just that. The early Russian autocrats considered themselves the successors of the Byzantine Emperors who ruled over the Eastern Roman Empire until the fall of Constantinople in the 15th Century. Ivan the Great established this claim by marrying the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, and on that basis he assumed the title of 'Caesar' or 'Czar'. Under him, then, Moscow set itself up as the 'Third Rome' – in succession to the original Rome and Constantinople respectively. At Ivan's court it was said that 'the third Rome, Moscow, stands, and a fourth there will not be'.

"What the Soviet state represents today is this Byzantine tradition, the absolute rule of one man to which de Tocqueville referred. It's Russian, not Marxist. Not only does it not correspond to anything Karl Marx advocated, it is counter to much that he did advocate. What it represents is the counter-revolutionary reversion to Russian tradition after the failure of the Communist Revolution. 'Workers of the World', my eye!"

He was silent for a moment. Having decided to hold my fire, I carefully said nothing.

"In the same way," he resumed, "the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is the continuation of a single expansionist movement that goes back to centuries before that heir to the Roman Empire, Ivan the Great.

"What is characteristic of this expansion is its defensive character. Since the 9th Century the Russians have constantly felt themselves to be in a state of siege, under pressure from aggressive foreign enemies on all sides. In the absence of natural geographic barriers, they have been able to gain a measure of security only by pushing the threat back – thereby gaining for themselves, over the generations of fighting for their lives, that sheer space which was at last to defeat the successive attempts of Napoleon and Hitler to conquer them.

"Another thing that their experience as Russians has taught them is the guile, the falsehood, the conspiratorial behavior that we now identify as Communist. Remember that, from the first half of the 13th Century until the time of Ivan the Great they were at the mercy of those wild Mongolian horsemen, the Tartars. The only way they could survive, through those two agonizing centuries, was by secrecy, deception and double dealing. They had to learn how to outdo the Byzantines in conspiracy and betrayal. And this is how their leaders have conducted themselves with the outside world ever since."

He paused. "Have you got Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes?*" he asked.

"There's a complete set of Conrad on the shelf above you."

"Have you read *Under Western Eyes?*"

"If I have I don't remember it."

"It's a fictional account of Russian political intrigue in Geneva, and it was published in 1911. If you didn't know the date, and if you didn't come across references to the Czar rather than to Stalin or Khrushchev, you wouldn't know it wasn't about Soviet political intrigue."

He got up, found the book, and sat down again.

"When a new edition was published in 1920," he went on, "Conrad wrote a special Author's Note for it. In it he celebrated the downfall of the Czarist political system that the book describes. The Note ends:

> " 'The ferocity and imbecility of an autocratic rule rejecting all legality and in fact basing itself upon complete moral anarchism provokes the no less imbecile and atrocious answer of a purely Utopian revolutionism encompassing destruction by the first means to hand, in the strange conviction that a fundamental change of hearts must follow the downfall of any given human institu-

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> tions. These people are unable to see that all they can effect is merely a change of names. The oppressors and the oppressed are all Russians together; and the world is brought once more face to face with the truth of the saying that the tiger cannot change his stripes nor the leopard his spots'."

He stopped and sat there with a complacent air, as if Conrad were a final authority of some sort.

"Everything you say could be true," I said, "and it wouldn't change the fact that since 1917 the Russian state has been put at the service of international Communism."

"What I'm saying," he replied, "is the reverse – that since 1917 international Communism has been put at the service of the Russian state. In the unexpected circumstances in which he came to power in 1917, Lenin recognized that the preservation of the Russian state had to have priority over world revolution. Within less than three months of the Russian Revolution he was writing in *Pravda* that 'the Soviet power to decide international problems must determine the position of the Socialist Revolution in Russia'. He made it explicit that what this meant was 'Socialism in one country', the principle that Stalin later established as permanent. From the beginning, then, whenever Marxist doctrine has conflicted with the interests of the Russian state, the doctrine has had to accommodate itself and by progressively accommodating itself over the years it has come to the point where today its survival has long been nominal only."

The Third and Final Rome

"Harry," I said, "this is ridiculous. You can't really talk as if Russian history hadn't been affected by the Russian Revolution, or as if Communism didn't exist in Russia, or as if Khrushchev didn't believe in world revolution."

"Of course Russian history has been affected by all this," he replied. "It has been affected by its sudden identification with Communism just as it was affected by its sudden identification with the Roman tradition in the days of Ivan the Great. The idea that Moscow had become the final successor to Rome inspired it with new energy and a sense of purpose, with an invigorating confidence that the future belonged to it by historical predestination. The result was a burst of vitality, the centralization of the state, its reorganization, and its expansion for the purpose of meeting history halfway, so to speak.

"As for Khrushchev's belief in world revolution, I don't doubt it for a moment. But what he means by world revolution, is not what Karl Marx meant. It's something a lot closer to what old Ivan meant when he predicted Moscow would be the third and final Rome."

I never seem able to stand up to Harry, with only my own (and everybody else's) common sense to go on. "If Moscow really represents Caesarism rather than Marxism or Communism," I asked, "how is it that all the world, including the experts, don't recognize that it does?"

"There's a perfectly simple principle that explains it," he replied. "We live in two worlds at once, a real world and a nominal world, and the nominal world is always more real to us than the real world. That's why Moscow, having retained the nominal label of "Communism" after discarding what it stands for, is able to fool the whole world – including itself, no doubt."

"You are a pernicious and demoralizing influence," I said. "What you would do is to undermine our whole ideological position in the world, which is based on fighting the Communist ideology."

"I sure would if I could," he said. "By this obsession of ours with the nominal front that Moscow puts up we play right into its hands. This front, which we do as much to support as it does, gives the Third Rome a respectability throughout the world that it couldn't possibly have otherwise.

"Remember that, although 'Socialism' is a dirty word in the American language, it's a noble word in everybody else's language. And, although we may ourselves have hysterics at the name of 'Communism', other people don't get all that excited about it. Look how we injure ourselves in Latin America, for just one example. The great historic inter-American tradition is that of defending the independence of this New World of ours against the wicked autocracies of the Old World, with their perennial designs upon us. But, instead of addressing ourselves to the menace in terms of this tradition, we try to get the Latin Americans alarmed about an ideology. Instead of warning them against Russian encroachment, the threat of the Third Rome, we warn them against an ideological threat to our system of free enterprise. What more could Moscow ask?"

At last I had my chance and took it. "Harry," I said, "the trouble with you is that you are allowing yourself to be governed by a nostalgia for the kind of world we had back in the 19th Century. This causes you to make a wishful identification of the present ideological struggle with the power conflicts of that world, which you feel more at home in. You probably sincerely believe everything you say, but what it represents is the impulse to return to the womb."

Harry at first looked at me in a sort of blank amazement, then began to smile. "I never thought of that," he said, "but it sounds fetching." I couldn't help feeling that the ammunition with which X had armed me should somehow have had a different impact.

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Breaking the Tie

Over the monstrous, shambling sea,
Over the Caliban sea
our hero rode the thunderbolt three hundred miles precisely to the spot where cheering, laughing comrades waited to bring him safely home.

The heart of the nation leaped up, and why not? It was romance in the grand manner, an echo from the *Iliad*, a passage from the *Song of Roland*. In one scant quarter of an hour we presented to the world a hero as brave as any, scientific wizards as skillful as any, a Navy whose clock-like precision and disciplined efficiency are the equal of any. We pulled abreast of the leaders of science, technology and organization – reason enough for pride and thanksgiving.

Yet the great triumph was not there. With the physical feat we drew abreast of the leaders of the world; it was twenty minutes later that we pulled ahead. For twenty minutes after the Navy lifted our man from the sea the President of the United States announced that any addition to scientific knowledge made by this flight would be available to the whole world as soon as it can be translated from the films and tapes and graph-paper on which it is recorded. With the feat itself we tied the score; but with that announcement we broke the tie, for it is a challenge to the future that our great rival has not yet dared issue.

Not for America alone did Shepard assume that dreadful risk, but for all men, everywhere. Throughout the world men have taken note, and the shouts of the sailors on the *Lake Champlain* are being echoed in strange cities by alien voices. That was the point at which US prestige took its mightiest upward leap.

But have we the wit to perceive this truth and govern ourselves accordingly? Without doubt the President appreciates it, or he would not have made the announcement with such speed. The wiser men among those around him appreciate it, as do those not in office, the enlightened throughout the country.

We must face the fact, though, that there are many who hold it in utter derision. There are many who hold that the ambush is the only sound strategy, and that genuine statecraft consists in laying traps into which the unwary may be beguiled. That is the way in which our rivals operate and those in this country who would follow them are Americans with Russian minds.

Unfortunately, it is a simple doctrine that can be understood without any severe mental effort and without any historical perspective. Knowledge is power and the more knowledge we can hoard the more powerful we shall be, relatively, to those who do not know.

All this is true enough, and to the simple-minded it is the whole truth. It takes some thinking beyond the immediately obvious to realize that while it is true, it is irrelevant, for the purpose of this country – that is, its formally proclaimed purpose, to which it has not always adhered – is not to impose its will upon the world by superior physical power. Its proclaimed purpose is, in the words of Washington, to "erect a standard to which the wise and honest may repair." As to what may happen thereafter, Washington acknowledged: "The event is in the hands of God."

But the American first in the hearts of his countrymen did not worry about that. The firm and speedy erection of the standard was all that concerned him. That done, he was content to drive into the future as unperturbed as Shepard, driving into outer space. It was a display in the moral realm of the same courage displayed in the physical realm by the rider of the thunderbolt.

President Kennedy's announcement was tantamount to an assertion that we have leadership with a moral courage fit to match the physical courage of our men-at-arms. It was a bold assertion, but what kind of American is he who would regret the President made it? However, we now face the necessity of making Mr. Kennedy's words good, and it is more than a bit grim. It involves holding down those whose faith is entirely in the ambuscade; and they will be hard to hold down because they have behind them all the intellectual kindred of Simple Simon – and they are like the grasshoppers for number. The idea that a nation that is to lead civilization may rise only by pulling up the whole world with it is too complicated for simpletons to grasp. It is supported by the garnered wisdom of the centuries, but what do simpletons know of that?

Nevertheless, the announcement has been made. What we may learn about the physical universe that promises to be profitable to us is equally for the profit and pleasure of any outside our national boundaries who can understand it. We are setting no traps. And the moment we said so the courage and skill of our hero achieved a triumph exceeding that of any other.

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Better Days or Mass Suicide?

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

The trial of Adolf Eichmann and turmoil in the Congo have been mirrored in two books that give those interested in the future of the human race much reason for melancholia. *The Black Diaries*, with the subtitle "An account of Roger Casement's life and times with a collection of his diaries and public writings," was published in 1959,

The Black Diaries of Roger Casement
edited by Peter Singleton-Gates
and Maurice Girodias
(Grove; $7.50)

The Informed Heart
by Bruno Bettelheim
(Free Press; $5)

before the Congo upheaval. *The Informed Heart*, a study by Bruno Bettelheim of German concentration camps, was issued in 1960. Both books are a key to understanding not only of Eichmann and the Congo, but of the movement of humanity to self-destruction in the 20th Century.

Contrary to general impression, the diaries of Roger Casement (or, at least, those parts published) are almost lacking in sexual titillation. How Casement got emotional satisfaction is secondary to the image of a man who identified himself with the suffering of national and color groups, a man who justly may be considered the first great anti-imperialist who paid with life for his ideals in this century.

The Black Diaries is divided in three parts: the 1903 Diary, printed on opposite pages to the official Congo Report that Roger Casement, as British Consul to the Congo Free State, made to the Marquess of Lansdowne, British Foreign Secretary; the 1910 Diary, also printed alongside the official Putumayo Report, dealing with the horrible oppression of Peruvian Indians by Foreign rubber companies; and the Irish Rebellion of 1916, concluding with Casement's trial and hanging. Only the first part, the Congo Diary and Report, will be discussed here.

When Roger Casement was sent as British Consul to the Congo Free State in 1900, King Leopold II of the Belgians had been in firm control for a decade. The Congo story, in its filthy origins and patterns of exploitation, is too well known to need repeating. Leopold had a golden barrel which he tapped to the dregs. The principal corporation he set up showed a profit of *18,000* times its invested capital in the first six years and all Europe was murmuring with envy. The fact that several million natives were butchered in the process only made a few missionaries quail; and, after all, the Arab slavers had been expelled. The official view was that some atrocities were inevitable in the forward march of Christianity and European civilization.

It was to the credit of Roger Casement that he arrived in the Congo with a mind devoid of hypocrisy and prejudice. He was one of those rare human beings whose basic sense of decency was not so over-clogged by the cant of class, color and country that stereotypes had replaced reality. What he wrote, therefore, rang with a power which cut through the fog of gentility and idealism that Leopold II had deliberately created.

The Congo Report and the 1903 Diary reflect man's traditional use of the conquered as chattel, things to be used up and then thrown away. The creatures of Leopold usurped for his private benefit the trading of the natives, who were forced to work for little or no pay. Hungry, uprooted from their tribal bonds and families, the Congolese sickened and died. The destitute children were left without support and soon followed. In a steady munching process, the population of the lakeside towns diminished up to 70 percent in a matter of short years and, according to some authorities, the Congo is still less populated today than it was before the advent of Leopold.

The base of the Leopold system was the "Force Publique," that same group which revolted against the Belgians last summer and precipitated the Congo crisis. This mercenary force, staffed primarily by white officers, was recruited of Black soldiers from different tribes, to terrorize and destroy the villages of their tribal enemies. Cannibals were often preferred and, after delivering the hands and testicles to the white man in testimony of fealty, the attractive women were seized as booty and the rest eaten or left to rot. As Roger Casement said in a letter to Edmund Morel, with whom he jointly founded the Congo Reform Association, "... if I got home again I should go to all lengths to let my countrymen know what a hell upon earth our own white race had made, and was daily making, of the homes of the black people it was our duty to protect."

The Congo Report of Roger Casement hit Europe and America with an enormous impact. The vehement denials of Leopold II, who even had the impertinence to affirm it was a Protestant plot against a Catholic people (Casement was Protestant), brought powerful forces to his side. But the English government persevered in its accusations, partly due to the fact that it was anxious to absorb the Congo, reform the worst colonial excesses and take to itself the greater part of the profit. World pressure increased and Leopold II was forced to set up a commission to investigate Casement's allegations. Though "rigged" – of the three men, one was a Belgian judge and another a personal friend of Leopold – most unexpectedly, the Commission of Inquiry corroborated Casement on every point.

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The 20th Century opened to the ill-omened notes of the Congo and the Boer War, which latter Roger Casement summed up by saying: "England sacrificed her moral position in the councils of the world when she strangled those two little free states in South Africa." *That* kind of statement, Mr. Casement, will lead you to where you went: the English gallows. World War I brought on the Bolshevik victory. And the reaction to the Soviet Union created Adolf Hitler, who learned from Congo methods and improved on them mightily.

A former resident of Dachau and Buchenwald, the Congoes of Hitler, has told of his experiences in *The Informed Heart*. Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, a noted Austrian psychoanalyst now become American, has tried to formulate out of his sojourn in these concentration camps their inner meaning. The similarities and differences between the Congo atrocities of Leopold II and the concentration camps of Hitler clearly indicate a certain movement of 20th Century thought.

Like the Congo policy, a major goal in Dachau and Buchenwald was to break the prisoners as individuals and to change them into a docile mass from which no group act of resistance could arise. The peculiar twist in the concentration camps was the compulsive need to destroy the self-respect of the prisoners; to break resistance was sufficient in Leopold's Congo, an altogether *lower* grade of brutality than the depersonalization demanded by the SS as the preliminary step to extermination. As Dr. Bettelheim says: "Because if I should try to sum up in one sentence what my main problem was during the whole time I spent in the camps, it would be: to protect my inner self in such a way that if, by any good fortune, I should regain liberty, I would be approximately the same person I was when deprived of liberty."

A key element of the SS policy was to make inmates feel and act like children. These SS guards – usually uneducated and of the lowest class – found pleasure in reducing their former "masters," superiors in the social structure, to "slaves"; or, in a profound psychologic sense, to make "black" or "African" the "white" or "European" egoes of the prisoners. In the Congo, the Belgians regarded themselves as masters and did not have to prove their (fancied) superiority; in concentration camps, the inferiority feelings of the SS found outlet in this psychic perversion. And individual attempts to reassert self-respect were broken to a large extent by making the group suffer whenever an individual did something extraordinary; so that the group actually came to resent heroes because they brought group-suffering.

One hideous result, combined with the complete isolation from family, was that regression to childhood often occurred. The aim of the SS was largely successful: not only to break resistance, but to crush the very personality traits of self-reliance and adult decision which commit persons to opposition. The black-white, slave-master relation of the Congo was thus superimposed on the prisoners in Dachau and Buchenwald.

In the "old prisoners," actual identification with the aims of the SS often appeared. Since these older inmates to a large degree ran the camps, thus gave rise to a hierarchy and class structure similar to that created in the Congo by the use of soldiers from different tribes. The SS, though arbitrary, tended to encourage such division, and the end result was that the "prison elite" regarded the "lower class prisoners" much as the Negro troops working for Leopold II viewed their fellow Congolese: "not the SS but the prisoner was the prisoner's worst enemy."

Hitler's system produced a further step in that depersonalization which is endangering the possibility of a tolerable life in our time. In the Congo missionaries operated, functionaries going "too far" were often reprimanded, Leopold attempted to refute Roger Casement's charges. Right and wrong, and an individual's relation to ethical choice, still existed. But the concentration camp – a smaller model of the Congo, but a replica of whole countries like China today if reports be correct – went far beyond this. "In the concentration camps, which threw all tendencies of the state into bolder relief, it became clearer each year how the theoretical nonexistence of the in-

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dividual was being applied. In tyrannies of the past, the torture of an individual supposedly had something to do with him as a person. In the concentration camps, even torture and death stopped having much connection with personal history or concrete event."

The final step was the extermination policy set in 1942, when the value of a life, even in terms of a slave society, was put aside. This point was never reached in the Congo and, what is more important, *never could have been* reached. Like the Portuguese today in Africa, Leopold II exploited slave labor and worked to death the natives; although frightful, this was a typical attitude toward prisoners and slaves in all history. But what was new were depersonalization and extermination *on principle*, the elevation of murder to a new conscious ethical precept: Thou *shalt* kill, in the name of the historical process, the future.

What are we to make of this new concept of ethics, of personality and history? Are the terrible ravages of war and racism in our time a dawn of better days or a presagement of worse things to come? Is the statehood of the Congo a victory for the views of Roger Casement and the trial of Adolf Eichmann an indictment of the concentration camp? Or are these unchained events symptoms of greater holocausts peering round the corner?

Only the future knows. Without question, however, a revolution in morality and the concept of the individual (allied with a decay in religion) has paced these changes and is preparing the ground for new upheavals.

May I illustrate the point by describing a rally I recently attended, called to protest the internment of political prisoners in Franco's Spain. It did not take long to realize – by the nature of the arguments, background of the speakers, appeals from spokesmen of the former Lincoln Brigade, etc. – the meeting was organized by a Communist-front group. The attacks made against the Franco penal system, brutality, illegal jailing, refusal to present formal charges, impossibility of contact by foreign observers, were all lamentably true. Then, for some reason, reference was made to the Castro regime in Cuba. A wild storm of cheers and applause swept the room.

The fact that the jails of Cuba are filled to overflowing, that death is meted out in closed session for political crimes, that the judiciary has been broken by a dictator, that the Red Cross cannot contact prisoners – that what the group was protesting in Spain was also going on in Cuba – did not interfere with their hatred for one and adulation of the other.

In sum, this rally of well-dressed and distinguished persons approved or condoned in Cuba what they condemned in Spain – the very same thing! Mass brutality, suspension of fundamental rights, destruction of an entire class, killing and exile, were justice or murder according to who did them. These spiritual citizens of the Soviet Union were, thus, at bottom, not against murder and brutality, but rather against their use for what they approved and for their use against what they disapproved. Justice is thus defined as a mere consequence of its social ends rather than an end in itself; or more simply, justice is the extermination of your enemy.

This crude reversion to the Old Testament concept of vengeance as Divine Justice is our inheritance from Hegel's philosophy of the Geist or World Spirit leading on to progress; and woe betide the erring one (an ethnic group, the Jews; a class, the aristocrats; a segment, the kulaks; a national group, the Japanese on our West Coast in World War II) who stands in the way of the World Spirit.

One cannot say that people of this opinion are "bad" in the old sense; the tragical and indeed ironical part is that often they are the best, the most committed and idealistic. Anatole France felt both sides of the problem when he defined justice as the right of the rich and poor without partiality to sleep under the Seine bridges in the dead of winter, and also depicted Robespierre as so just he was willing to murder three-quarters of mankind to bring justice to the remnant. What is the suffering of the few compared to the greater liberation of the many? asks with rhetoric the idealist, who genuinely believes that a class no longer serving a useful function or a blind minority holding back a nation from rapid industrial development must be purged to fulfill the law of history.

Perhaps the best justification of this view was expressed by Nehru in his *On World History*, as condensed by Saul K. Padover. Discussing the French Revolution, Nehru states:

> "The French Revolution was a terrible thing. And yet it was a fleabite compared to the chronic evils of poverty and unemployment. The costs of social revolution, however great they might be, are less than these evils and the cost of war which comes to us from time to time under our present political and social system. The Terror of the French Revolution looms large because many titled and aristocratic persons were its victims, and we are so used to honoring the privileged classes that our sympathies go out to them when they are in trouble. It is well to sympathize with them as with others. But it is also well to remember that they are just a few.... those who really matter are the masses, and we cannot sacrifice the many to a few."

Nehru wrote these words in the late thirties when he did not know, or would not believe, what Stalin (the many) was doing to the hundreds of thousands (the few), to the point that even Khrushchev was revolted enough to expose it. Nehru also was prudent enough to take an impartial attitude on Hungary. When the cock crowed in Tibet, he felt differently, though by all odds social revolution – in the classical sense – was more justified in a feudal theocracy like Tibet than anywhere else. Had Nehru become a bourgeois? A petty nationalist? Or had he second thoughts about abstract theory when put in practice next door, with his own country next on the list?

Such attitudes toward history might have made sense in that antediluvian age preceding the invention of the atomic bomb. *If* an odd handful of Czars and Rasputins could be poised against the masses of a country heliotropically turning toward Marx the Savior, we might use that delightful

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phrase of Kierkegaard, intended to describe the triumph of Christianity, and apply toward Earthly Salvation the theme of the "teleologic suspension of the ethical." In God's name we suspend the ethical, as did the 13th Century Catholics with the Albigensian revolt in Southern France; in Marx's name we suspend the ethical, to bring forth a new society; or to bring the matter home, in America's name we suspend the ethical, to atomize Hiroshima.

And so a few incidental murders mean nothing, as when Benvenuto Cellini prided himself on being absolved by the Pope for all the crimes he did or would do in the name of the Holy Apostolic Church – or when Mao-tse-tung casually remarked that 28 million Chinese had to be liquidated to consolidate the Chinese Revolution.

Perhaps the Associated Press exaggerated, since the capitalist newspaper owners hate Communism with such intensity. Perhaps they doubled Mao's figure, and there were only 14 million killed. What a relief to know that! Perhaps Eichmann only killed two million Jews and the Israelis are trying to pin on him four million more deaths! Perhaps the scientists are wrong and the next hydrogen bomb war will not kill two-thirds of the Americans and one-third of the Russians, but only 50 million Americans and 70 million Russians! And, to look ourselves clearly in the eye, perhaps an American invasion of Cuba will only kill 10,000 Cubans to prove that Castro is wrong.

This is the frightful paradox the ideologues bring us to in the name of justice and history. But let us not be overwrought, for we are not through the century yet. Before it is finished, the Congo of Leopold and the Germany of Hitler may be only child's play. And you and your family, my friend, may well be mushroom-shaped dust.

An Enormous, Obscene Delusion

by Jeremy Larner

All the fashionable talk about the "style" and "art" of modern writing does not for a moment obscure the fact that the novel is essentially a form which takes its materials from social perceptions. The selection and organization of these materials make of every novelist some kind of moralist, whether he likes it or not. Richard Yates does not wish to elude this circumstance; he takes it as a responsibility, and discharges the responsibility with a novel that is honest, telling, and – in a high sense of the word – artistic.

Revolutionary Road
by Richard Yates
(Atlantic - Little, Brown; $4.75)

Revolutionary Road is a novel about what its heroine calls "an enormous, obscene delusion – this idea that people have to resign from real life and 'settle down' when they have families." The scene is a commuting suburb near New York City – where people can live only by pretending they are not like the others who live exactly as they do. Frank Wheeler and his wife are superior, they think, because they "see through" their situation; they see that the paradigm of American middle-class success partakes of neither beauty nor courage nor art nor any of the things which permit a man to respect himself save the simple ability to keep snug in his nest. Having abandoned all other possibilities, they seek to keep their souls alive through family and love. What they do not know, what in fact comprises the fatal discovery of *Revolutionary Road*, is that love cannot exist without self-respect.

For *Revolutionary Road* demonstrates the absolute necessity of *useful work* if a man is to survive as a man. The lesson is timely – could there be an institution more destructive of meaningful work than our increasingly-powerful media-advertising industry, hell-bent to impose cash values in the arts and sciences and to dissipate all the creative energy it can lure or trap? The premise of *Revolutionary Road* is that a man is "the most valuable and wonderful thing in the world," and that

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when he lives badly it hurts him inside. His hurt is special if he has received a "higher" education. There are thousands of white collar workers commuting to New York who are not unlike Frank Wheeler: the half-educated products of shabby colleges.

Frank Wheeler is in many ways the most typical, most suitable of American heroes. First of all, he is helpless; he regards his position in the Organization as temporary and forced upon him from the outside. He is crafty; he turns his guile to erecting a rigid separation between home and work. He is verbal; in his fortified suburban castle he soothes himself by ripping to shreds the institutions he spends his day serving. Finally, he is self-conscious, and knows how to dissipate his anxieties in self-reproach, on the theory that a shortcoming freely acknowledged cannot fairly be held against him. Beginning with his wife's first pregnancy, he has his life all explained:

> "Wasn't it true, then, that everything in his life from that point on had been a succession of things he hadn't really wanted to do? Taking a hopelessly dull job to prove he could be as responsible as any other family man, moving to an overpriced, genteel apartment to prove his mature belief in the fundamentals of orderliness and good health, having another child to prove that the first one hadn't been a mistake, buying a house in the country because that was the next logical step and he had to prove himself capable of taking it. Proving, proving . . ."

Ghastly, isn't it? Yet Frank Wheeler – like his real-life counterparts – would be capable of bearing this burden indefinitely, talking away his appalling cowardice, loading his failings on the backs of his children, until he eventually expired into an air-conditioned old age. Wheeler leaves it to his wife to become the real hero of the book: she is the final disrupting factor in a world that will not leave him alone. April Wheeler realizes what's happened to her, not so much intellectually, but through a loss of respect for her husband, hence a loss of love, hence an utter loss of esteem for herself as one who has identified her life with his. A series of debilitating arguments ensues, in which the more Frank Wheeler "explains" their marriage the less she can bear it, and finally she is driven to a last-ditch tactic.

She insists that she and her children will not be a burden to him. She wants to move the whole family to Paris. The cost of living is lower there, low enough so that *she* may support the family by working as a secretary. And what is *he* to do?

> "Don't you see? Don't you see that's the whole idea? You'll be doing what you should've been allowed to do seven years ago. You'll be finding yourself. You'll be reading and studying and taking long walks and thinking. You'll have *time*. For the first time in your life you'll have time to find out what it is you want to do, and when you find it you'll have the time and the freedom to start doing it."

Plans like these are the nightmares men like Frank Wheeler prefer to forget when they are awake and talking to themselves. For the rationale collapses when confronted by the fact that, if we are bold enough to seize it, freedom is available. It is nearly impossible for an educated American to starve. What takes nerve is to face, not hardship, but the real and existing possibilities of living up to one's best. As Paul Goodman puts it, "sometimes, finally, we have to invent really new devices . . . even, in a rich society, to be decently poor if one so chooses." Or perhaps, as April Wheeler says, "it's a question of deciding who's in charge" – the parents or the kids.

But Frank Wheeler is too far gone. The prospect of liberty scares him so badly he works unconsciously to destroy it. He does not foresee that failure to transcend his imaginary "responsibilities" means failure as man, as husband, as father. But his wife cannot make a life of such failure; she brings their whole sorry existence toppling in on them, destroying herself and reducing Frank Wheeler to a nurseling. The domestic tragedy isn't meant to be typical, however: it happens only when one strange wife wakes up and shows a little nerve.

Yates waited until he was 35 to publish this first novel, and – according to his publishers – took five years in the writing of it. I believe it: every phrase reflects the highest degree of integrity and stylistic mastery. Yates' ear for conversation is, in my experience, unmatched among his contemporaries.

To read *Revolutionary Road* is to have forced upon one a fresh sense of our crucial modern shortcomings: failures of work, education, community, family, marriage . . . and plain *nerve*. What this book bodes for American society is not pleasant; but we may take some small consolation from evidence that the spirit of nay-saying is still strong enough to have produced a genuine artist.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Daniel M. Friedenberg *has written extensively on ethics and world affairs.* Jeremy Larner, *who makes his first* NR *appearance with this issue, has written for such magazines as* The Partisan Review *and* Dissent.

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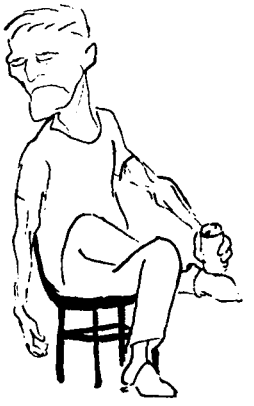
JULES FEIFFER

I USED TO READ THEM ADS - KNOW WHAT I MEAN? "EVEN YOUR BEST FRIEND WON'T TELL YOU" ADS - AND IT USED TO BOTHER ME BECAUSE IF YOU'RE A **RIGHT** GUY - NICE TO YOUR MOTHER AND EVERYTHING - WHAT KIND OF GIRL IS IT WHO'D GIVE YOU THE GATE BECAUSE OF THE **WRONG** TOOTHPASTE YOU USE - OR WHAT KIND OF PHONEY FRIEND IS IT WHO'D SPEND HIS TIME NOT DRINKING WITH YOU BUT **SMELLING** YOU?

AND THEN IT WOULD BOTHER ME HOW THESE PEOPLE IN THE ADS WOULD BECOME POPULAR OVERNIGHT BY CHANGING **BRAND NAMES**. I MEAN THEY DIDN'T CHANGE THEIR **INSIDES** AT ALL - THEY WEREN'T **BETTER** PEOPLE. BUT SUDDENLY THEY'D SWITCH BRANDS AND BECOME **PRIDE** OF THE REGIMENT.

WELL THIS USED TO BOTHER ME BECAUSE, FRANKLY, PEOPLE NEVER **HAVE** TAKEN TO ME AND, I ADMIT, SOMETIMES I USED TO WAKE UP IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT DRIPPING SWEAT. AND GOING ON AND OFF IN MY HEAD LIKE A BIG NEON SIGN WAS - "**BAD BREATH. BAD BREATH. BAD BREATH.**"

AND MORE AND MORE MY WIFE TREATED ME LIKE A STRANGER, AND MY KIDS WHO MY WIFE SAYS ARE AT A SENSITIVE AGE BEGAN TO MAKE CRACKS. YOU CAN ALWAYS TELL WHEN A KID'S AT A SENSITIVE AGE BY HIS INSENSITIVE CRACKS. SO I FINALLY GAVE **IN**. I CHANGED MY TOOTHPASTE, MY HAIR OIL, MY SOAP AND MY SUIT STYLE.



AND, **SON OF A GUN**, THE ADS WERE **RIGHT!** MY WIFE **GLOWED** AT ME. THE KIDS **LOVED** ME. SUDDENLY EVERYBODY WAS MY BUDDY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY **LIFE!** I FELT STRAINED AND PHONEY AND EVERYBODY **PRAISED** ME!

5-21 ©1961 JULES FEIFFER

The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

THREE WEEKS OF IT WAS ALL I COULD TAKE. THEN I WENT BACK TO THE **OLD** WAYS.

IF THEY PREFER **THAT** KIND OF GUY TO **ME**, THE **HELL** WITH THEM

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TELEVISION

The Country's Whipping Boy

There is an understandable feeling among many people in the industry that television has been turned into the country's whipping boy. Rod Serling spoke for dozens of others when he wrote: "There seems to be a propensity in our time to lump current social evils into a large glob so that both identification and assault can be handled in a simple, single process. Hence, the television industry has been made the target of a national skeet-shoot and is being held accountable for everything from payola to what appears to be a lapse in national morality."

Mr. Serling does not deny that television bears a heavy share of the blame for whatever is ailing us, but he also wants the press and other mass media to shoulder their responsibility. He speaks of "that strange phenomenon of a sacrosanct condition in which television can get stuck up on nails while the daily press goes on a daily garbage-strewn pathway of amber journalism, unchallenged and unjudged."

I have friends on both sides of this argument, so I don't want to get into it. What I do want to suggest is that there has been altogether too much moralizing and self-righteousness in the judgments made on the networks' performance, and perhaps not enough serious thinking about the role of television in American society.

The medium which began with blurry images of wrestling matches less than fifteen years ago is now a major influence on American society. It has a tremendous effect on our mores and our morals, on determining our national taste, on shaping the values of our children, and on setting the tone of our political life.

While it is true to insist, as industry spokesmen frequently do, that television mirrors American life, the relationship between the medium and society is not that simple. There is a kind of double action. Television shows us what we are like; at the same time it has a tremendous effect on making us what we are. A few years ago, for instance, television could show us that American kids were high on Davy Crockett – coon-skin caps were to be seen everywhere. But it was the influence of television that produced the very phenomenon the medium now gave back reflected.

Here was an example at the simple visual level. How much more significant are the subtler examples of the little screen reflecting habits of mind, styles of thought, political judgments, and the shape of values that it itself creates. How many times have we been taken back during a serious television drama when the commercial invoked the very responses that were being decried in the drama? How often has a speaker on one of the talky programs been interrupted in his denunciation of materialism, conformity, mindlessness or self-satisfaction to make way for a commercial shrewdly designed to cater the materialistic, conformist, mindless, self-satisfied impulses of the audience? No, I am afraid that the people in the industry can not get out of their difficulties by claiming that the medium is only a camera showing the nation what it looks like.

If we are going to start taking television seriously, thinking seriously about it, we are going to have to start asking some basic questions and finding the answers to them. The answers will be forged out of intelligence, experience, tradition, and law. They will not be easy to find. But at this time, some of the questions have become fairly clear. I would like to suggest only three.

1. Should television think of itself primarily as a branch of show business, responsible above all for the constant entertainment of the American people? If the medium has a triple function, to enlighten and inform the public, to promote the democratic dialogue of a free people, and to entertain, what kind of proportion should be observed? Should entertainment be equal to the other two, somewhat superior to them in its claim on TV's resources, time-slots, and efforts, or should information and enlightenment be merely a kind of bonus in a show-business medium?

2. How much influence should the sponsor have on the content of a television program? Should the commercial consideration be the primary concern, or should the whole concept of television advertising be readjusted to a flat sale of time? This would mean a divorce between advertisers and programs. The whole idea of a "sponsor" would go. Identification between a popular TV personality and a specific product would disappear. Advertising material might be shown at any time, and choice periods would be shared by all the participating advertisers. Would this result in a significant loss of revenue? If so, how much loss are the networks prepared to take in order to fulfill their professional responsibilities?

3. Should the Government stay out of television in any other capacity than its present traffic-cop role? Should the FCC take a much more exacting view of its authority to see to it that those who hold licenses to use the people's airwaves fulfill their agreement to provide public service? Or should we continue to go along with the idea that the public interest is always difficult to define exactly, especially where communications are concerned, and the Government's role should remain minimal?

What about the idea sometimes proposed that the Government run a network of its own, setting an example for the private endeavors in TV? Is the idea of a governmental television effort more dangerous than the idea of a government conducting universities, side by side with private educational institutions? Or should the Government stay out of television as it has stayed out of newspaper publishing?

The National Association of Broadcasters met recently in Washington, D. C., and was properly told off not only once but twice – first by its new President, Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida, then by the chairman of the revitalized FCC, Newton N. Minow.

Governor Collins, who may have turned out to be more of a moralist

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than the NAB counted on any unemployed politician to be, advised the broadcasters to start taking stands on crucial issues of the day. A TV devoted to the bland leading the bland, he said, gets nowhere and brings the nation along with it.

Mr. Minow, for his part, minced no words. Television, he told its proprietors, is a vast wasteland. He challenged them to sit through a whole evening's programming and see for themselves just how futile and boring their efforts generally are. He went further. He reminded them that when they were issued a broadcasting license they promised to serve the public interest. Whatever the practice in the past, he warned, henceforth the FCC will compare performance with promises before licenses are renewed. "There is nothing permanent or sacred about a broadcasting license," the FCC chairman said.

That should have thrown the fear of God into the broadcasters – but don't get your hopes up. A few days later David Lawrence in his syndicated column was interpreting Minow to have threatened that "a broadcasting company would be suppressed and put out of business unless that company toes the mark and conforms to the doctrines of the administration which happens to hold office when a broadcasting license comes up for renewal." Of course Mr. Minow said no such thing, nor did he even hint of such a possibility, nor would the public hearings he spoke of make censorship of this kind possible. But no matter. If the idea can be spread about that political censorship is what Minow really has in mind, the case for responsible licensing is already lost.

In New York before all this alarming speechifying was going on in Washington, Wm. S. Paley, Chairman of the CBS board, threw in another brand of tear-gas. Mr. Paley has long been a master of people-lovin' prose. His prize sentences on this occasion went this way: "The public's voluntary sifting of the worthwhile from the shoddy is an evolutionary, rather than a revolutionary, process. It is admittedly inefficient, in that it cannot be speeded up." Translation: you never know what they will put up with or for how long.

JOHN COGLEY

MOVIES

Fine Italian Hands

Foreign films do not reach us in relation to the time of their completion. Thus, within a month of *L'Avventura* and *La Dolce Vita*, we get a third remarkable Italian film. *Two Women* was directed by Vittorio De Sica (whose name, I feel, should always be printed in incandescent capitals) and

Two Women (Embassy)

stars Sophia Loren. The screenplay, made from Alberto Moravia's novel, was written by De Sica's long-time collaborator, Cesare Zavattini, whom some consider the best screenwriter alive. Every moment of the film is the product of talent, experience and empathy. Its flaws – and it has some – are merely imperfections in an otherwise serious and moving work.

The story concerns a young Roman widow who closes her shop in 1943 and goes back to her native province with her 13-year-old daughter in order to escape the convulsions of war as the Allies advance on Rome. It happened that I lunched with Moravia while he was writing this book, and although he said of it only that he was writing "a different kind of war novel," he mentioned that, under the Badoglio government, he had been forced to hide out on a mountain-top near Rome. For nine months, he said, he had lived in a pig-sty. Obviously this period provided a basis for this novel.

The Italian title, *La Ciociara* (The Woman of Ciociaria), expresses the sense of the work better. The Ciociaria is a district in the mountains southeast of Rome. An important element in the story is the feeling of return – the woman's shearing off the urban veneer in time of trouble and becoming again a *Ciociara*. One of the many memorable touches is the scene where she and her daughter get off the train impatiently when it is delayed en route. She shows the city-bred girl how to make a pad of her kerchief, put it on her head, and balance her suitcase on it; then they kick off their shoes and walk together down the dusty road.

Cesira and her daughter Rosetta are taken in by farmers who are already sheltering some refugees from nearby towns. One of them is a young teacher, Michele (Jean-Paul Belmondo), who dotes on the child and falls in love with Cesira. But she is too pre-occupied with caring for her child and herself to respond properly. We follow her fortunes on this hill-top for some months as she scrounges, forages, struggles, and lives. At last the Germans retreat past their hill, and a party of them force Micehle – at pistol-point – to come along as their guide.

In the wake of the advancing Allies, Cesira and Rosetta start back to Rome on foot. Then, in a bombed-out church, they meet the war they have been trying to avoid. In a blood-freezing scene, full of soft chuckles and the padding of

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"THERE ARE TO BE *investigations of the Cuban fiasco. Robert Kennedy will ask someone to ask someone why someone didn't give someone the right information. Someone may even get fired (though not fired at) and in the end, Robert Kennedy will report to John Kennedy that,* mutatis mutandis, mutanda mutata. *Perhaps Harvard will even add to the graduate curriculum a course or two on Invasions, Amphibious to fill in the little lacunae in the expertise of future Harvard Administrations.*"

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feet, mother and daughter are cornered and presently raped by a number of Moroccan soldiers.

The final episode is weak because time has obviously been compressed; events that ought to take days or weeks occur overnight. Rosetta is so shattered by what has happened that she feels virtue is pointless and sleeps with a truck-driver for a pair of stockings. Her mother's remonstrations have no effect on the almost catatonic girl. Then comes the news of Michele's murder by the Germans. The child's love for the dead man cracks the ice, and she bursts into tears, back once more among the living. So Michele, by his death, has done a last service for the two of them. The film ends with mother and daughter weeping in each other's arms. The picture recedes, growing smaller in the center of the screen, until it is a photograph in an album, a split-second out of anguished human history.

Because of this compression towards the end, the film lacks a certain feeling of "arrival," but the feeling of the journey is well articulated. The placement of the film in physical and moral locale is unerring. De Sica and Zavattini, like Moravia, were not interested in heroes but in people, some of whom are sometimes heroic. Michele is the one anti-Fascist in the film and, until he goes consciously to his death, he is only a talker. Cesira and the other women giggle over the sexual attractiveness of Mussolini, which seems to have been as much of a factor in his political success as was that of *der schoener Adi* with German women. The Moroccans who commit the rapes were brought along by the French with full knowledge of their uncontrollability because they were fantastically brave soldiers.

The quintessence to which this film distils is the necessity for survival. It is the marrow of the peasant bone. Ideals, says this film, are not intangible essences, they exist only in people; so, first, the people themselves must continue to exist. That is not the whole truth nor a popular truth in a country like ours, which has been geographically divorced from both world conflicts, but it is nonetheless true.

Physically, Sophia Loren is not as suited for the part as, say, Anna Magnani might have been. But her beauty does not prevent her from giving a full-blooded performance, feral and female, brimming with laughter and sex and devotion and selfishness. I hope – in vain, I know – that Miss Loren will never again make films outside Italy. On her own ground (like her heroine), and especially with the help of De Sica, she is splendid.

Those who have seen *Breathless* may think Jean-Paul Belmondo's bitter performance of the immoralist is the measure of his abilities. As the affectionate, impassioned Michele, he shows that his range is wide and his sensibilities far-reaching. Eleanora Brown, as Rosetta, and Raf Vallone, as a very male Roman, are good.

As for De Sica, his essentially theatrical style flavors the film wonderfully. Antonioni is exploring the emotional possibilities of film techniques themselves. Bergman, who spends most of his time in the theater, turns to films as a by-product of his theatrical work, as Picasso turns to sculpture. Fellini is closer to De Sica than either of these; still Fellini is as interested in dramatizing with the camera as with actors. De Sica, alone among first-rate directors, is also a first-rate actor, and seems to feel that the film is not where he alters style but where he benefits by what he knows of the stage and of acting. For all his past use of non-professionals, the actor seems to him less a component of the film than its reason for being. He is perhaps the outstanding example of the wedding of theatrical and cinematic mastery. *Two Women* is not as perfectly realized as *Bicycle Thief* or *Miracle in Milan,* but it glows with theatrical vitality.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The Mind of JFK

Sirs:

In his informative article *The Mind of John F. Kennedy* (May 8) Frederick W. Collins doesn't seem to me to deal adequately with the Kennedy appointments that have been criticized. The

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appointment of Earl E. T. Smith as ambassador to Switzerland, which Mr. Collins calls an error, he explains by the fact that the President wasn't informed of what might cause Switzerland to object to Smith, and didn't think of it himself; but this leaves to be explained the President's behavior after the error in the appointment had become evident: not only that he did not withdraw the appointment, but that, according to one commentator, he has shown his displeasure over Switzerland's objection by not naming another ambassador after Smith's eventual withdrawal. In the case of the appointment of Charles M. Meriwether as a director of the Export-Import Bank Mr. Collins seems to accept the President's view that this was one of the "matters of lesser importance [that] must be restricted in the exactions they may make upon him" – a matter sufficiently unimportant for the "orthodox political reasons for the appointment" to be allowed to prevail over Meriwether's "association with political champions of white supremacy in Alabama." But another objection raised against Meriwether was his lack of qualifications for a directorship of the Export-Import Bank, a position sufficiently important, one would have thought, for the President to decide that the lack of qualifications should prevail over the "orthodox political reasons." And Mr. Collins doesn't deal with the two more important appointments criticized by Senator Proxmire – those of John Connally as Secretary of the Navy and John Kelly as Assistant Secretary of the Interior, concerning which the Senator said: "Big oil succeeded in placing their men in the two critical positions in our government that can benefit the industry."

B. H. Haggin
New York, N. Y.

Dilemma in Texas

Sirs:

The choice which Texas liberals are now being forced to make is not quite so simple, I believe, as Mr. Gilliland (Correspondence, May 1) has suggested. Granted that Dollar Bill Blakley may be a "Democrat" when the time comes to organize the Senate; granted that his right arm may be susceptible to twisting on a few unimportant issues. If the Democratic majority were slim enough for one vote to be significant on strictly party issues, the party label might be worthy of consideration. The majority is not, I think, that slim. Whatever slight advantage might be gained by electing one more Eastland-type Democrat would, perhaps, be more than counterbalanced by the fact that Blakley would be a majority member of whatever committees he might be assigned to; and would have correspondingly more power than his opponent, John Tower, who in any case would be a member of a minority party.

Considering the election from the national level, then, and in the short run, there seems to be little rational basis for decision: neither of the two evils is lesser. But when we consider the election from the state level, and in the long run, there is something to be said for electing John Tower. The election of Tower, for instance, would considerably weaken the position of quasi-Democrats such as Governor Daniel. And certainly any event which would in the slightest way help to prevent men like the late Allan Shivers posing as Democrats is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

The choice is not simple, at least not for me. I worked for Maury Maverick in the last election, and hope to work for him again. If Blakley shows any signs of wooing the Texas liberals, I may vote for him in the next election.

At the moment, I for one am leaning toward Tower.

Hugh J. Luke
Bryan, Texas

Chesterton's Feeding Habits

Sirs:

Congratulations.

It appears that some of you people have discovered G. K. Chesterton. He was quoted no less than twice in your April 24 issue.

Let's pray that all of you take a step in the right direction and get to know Chesterton better. He could eat *New Republic* for dinner and destroy liberal "thinking" for dessert.

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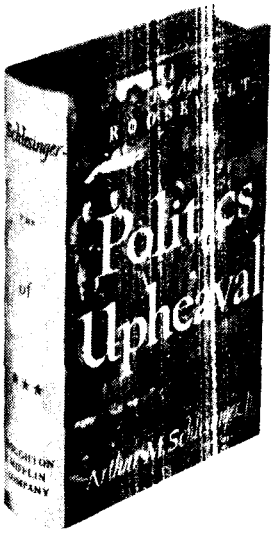

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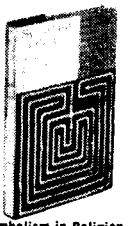

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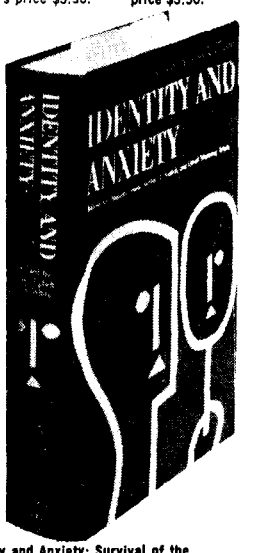

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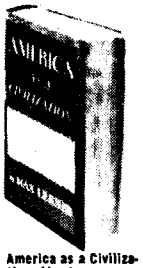

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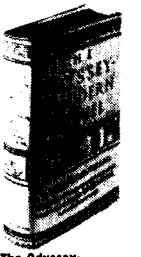

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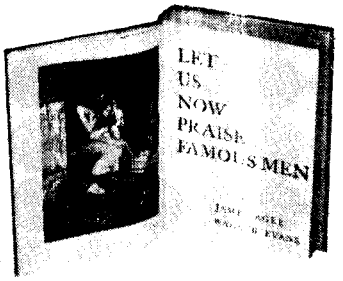

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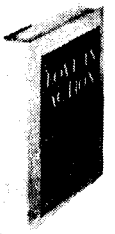

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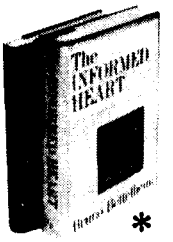

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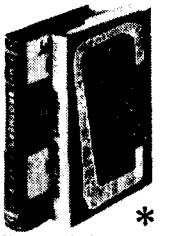

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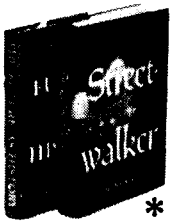

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